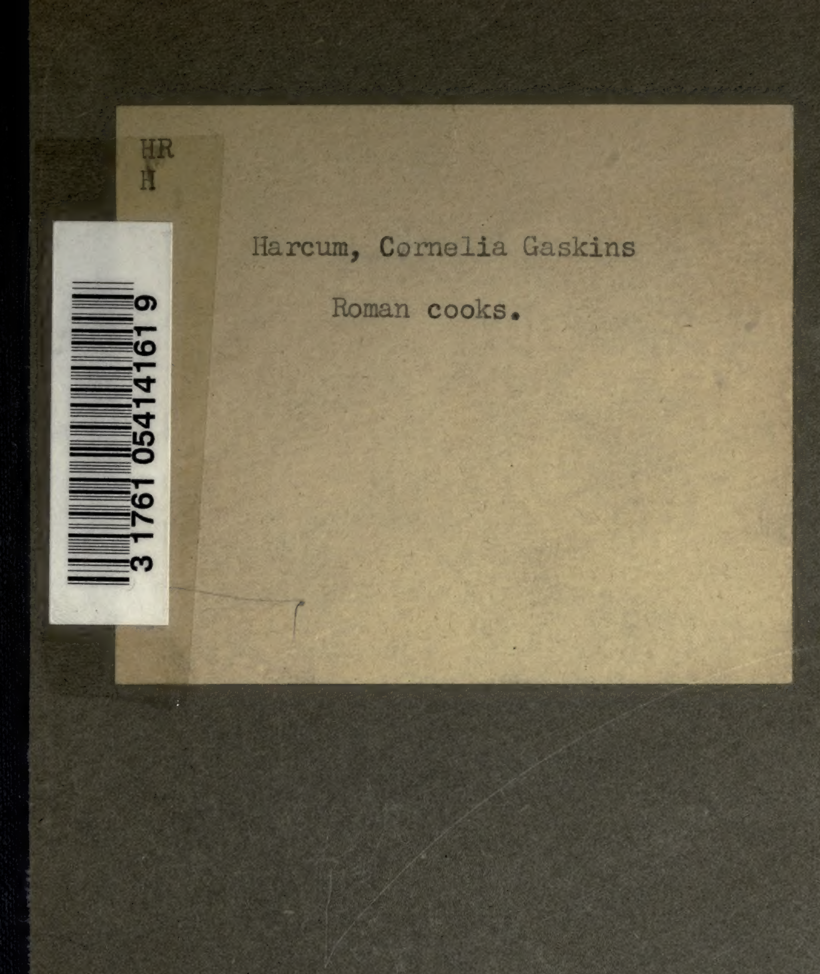


Harcum, Cornelia Gaskins

Roman cooks.

ROMAN COOKS

BY

CORNELIA GASKINS HARCUM

Instructor in Greek, Wellesley College

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1913

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This study of Roman cooks may be considered a companion piece to Edwin Moore Rankin's dissertation which was published in Chicago, 1907, on *The Role of the* Μάγειροι *in the Life of the Ancient Greeks.* I have consulted his work particularly on all questions concerning the cook in Greece, and wish to express acknowledgment for the information thus gained.

While the Roman cook occupies a far less prominent place in literature than does the Greek, he doubtless was quite as important a factor, at least in later Roman times, in the daily life of the people. The very fact of the scarcity of material and consequent lack of information in regard to him, may be given as the *raison d'être* of the following study.

Aside from Plautus and Petronius, Latin authors mention cooks only in scattered passages. While the baker has received rather much attention from modern writers, the cook has been comparatively neglected. The most comprehensive study of the subject is to be found in the article by E. Pottier, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines,* under 'coquus,' and this on the Roman side covers only a page. Other works which devote a small space to the cook are Blümner's *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern,* Leipzig und Berlin, 1912, pp. 91-92, and his *Römische Privat-Altertümer,* in Müller's *Handbuch,* IV, 2, II, 192, 594; Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer,* Leipzig, 1886, I, 146; and De Ruggiero's *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane,* under 'cocus.' These works, however, have little to say on the subject, and other books on Roman private life dismiss the cook with a line, a paragraph, or at most a page.

The following study is an attempt to bring together as far

as possible all literary and epigraphical evidence on the humble profession of the cook, and from this evidence to draw some conclusions which will bring us in closer touch with the daily private life of the old Romans.

CHAPTER I

THE LATIN WORD FOR COOK

The usual word for cook in Latin is 'coquus,' or 'cocus,' for both of these spellings are constantly found. Priscian, however (Keil, *Grammatici Latini,* II, 36, 14), says, that 'apud antiquos frequentissime loco 'cu' syllaba 'quu' ponebatur . . . ut 'coquus' . . . pro 'cocus.' In inscriptions 'cocus' is the common form, but in literature, to quote the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* under 'coquus,' 'utraque forma prorsus promiscue habetur.' 'Coquos' is also a form of the nominative singular in some manuscripts of Plautus. Donatus on Terence, *Adelphoe,* 423, says, 'apud veteres coquus non per 'c' litteram sed per 'q' scribebatur,' and in Plautus, *Aulularia,* 346, the nominative plural is 'quoqui.' The pun of Cicero, quoted by Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriae,* VI, 3, 47, seems to point to a later use of a nominative singular 'quoquus,' but this play on words in the remark addressed to the son of a cook, "Ego quoque tibi favebo," probably depends on the similar pronunciation of *c* and *qu.* Most of the manuscripts of Plautus, *Menaechmi,* 141, give a nominative singular 'quocus.' For other forms of the word in Plautus see Lodge's *Lexicon Plautinum,* under 'coquos.' In *C. I. L.* XI, 3078, we find a nominative plural 'ququei,' and in *C. I. L.* XIV, 2875, 'coques.' *C. I. L.* IV, Supplement, 6853, reads 'coco venit.' 'Cocula' is the diminutive for cook, Varro apud Nonium, 531, 532. By metonymy the adjective 'coquinus' may also be used for cook, Hieronymus, *Regula,* 8; *Pachomii,* 80. For spelling of the word for cook consult also Georges, *Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen,* under 'coquos.'

The verb 'coquere' is derived, like Greek πέσσω, from the root 'peq$^{\underset{\frown}{u}}$-' to cook. For this derivation see Lindsay, *The Latin Language,* 291; Stolz and Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik,*

Müller's *Handbuch,* II, 107, 108 and 115; Vanicek, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch,* p. 455; Curtius, *Griechische Etymologie,* p. 459; and *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae,* under 'coquus.' In the article on 'coquus' in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines,* Pottier gives a derivation from the Greek verb *κυκάω,* but for this he seems to stand alone.

In addition to the usual word for cook, several others also are found. Rarer than 'coquus' is 'coctor,' Petronius, *Satirae,* 95. It is used in *C. I. L.* IV, suppl., 6823, and *C. I. L.* IV, 1658. From the Greeks the Romans took the name of the professional cook 'magirus.' In Latin this is used chiefly in the word 'archimagirus.' This term was applied to the chief cook of a wealthy or imperial household, who had under his direct command many other special cooks of a greater or less degree of importance. We find him in inscriptions and in literature: *C. I. L.* VI, 8751; *C. I. L.* VI, 7458; *C. I. L.* VI, 8750; Juvenal, 9, 109; and Sidonius Apollinaris, II, 9, 6. The same person seems to have been called 'praepositus cocorum,' *C. I. L.* VI, 8752. Perhaps the 'supra cocos' in *C. I. L.* VI, 9261, also held the same position. In the *Testamentum Porcelli,* the ill-fated pig speaks of 'Magirus, cocus.' The word is also post-classical, and occurs in Lampridius, *Heliogabalus,* 10, 5, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae,* p. 210. The word 'magiriscia' is applied to tiny figures of cooks on a celebrated piece of work by the engraver Pytheas, Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIII, 157. In Scribonius Largus, 230, 'Culinarii' seems to be used for the cook's subordinates. It is found also in *C. I. L.* IV, 373, and *C. I. L.* XII, 4470 (?).

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOKING AS AN ART

It may be interesting before considering cooks in particular, to look briefly at the gradual growth in importance of the art of cooking among the Romans. In the city of Rome, and in Italy, in the good old days of the very early Republic, the utmost simplicity prevailed in the preparation of food. The cooking was done by the slaves, or the women of the family, in the 'atrium,' where all the simple life of the family was lived. The large 'focus' placed there served both as an altar, and for the cooking of food, Servius on The Aeneid, I, 726. The stock dish of the Romans at this time was a kind of porridge called 'puls,' which certainly did not require any great skill in the art of cooking for its preparation, cf. Varro, *De Lingua Latina,* V, 105. Athenaeus, VI, 274 f. contrasts this early simplicity of the Romans with their later extravagance, and says that in former times the inhabitants of Italy were so easily contented as he learned from Posidonius, that even those who were in very easy circumstances accustomed their sons to drink as much water as possible, and to eat whatever happened to be at hand. And very often, he continues, the father and mother asked their son whether he wished pears or walnuts for his supper, and when he had eaten some of these things he went content to bed, but now, says Athenaeus, as Theopompus tells us in the first book of his *Φιλιππικά,* there is no one who is even moderately well off who does not provide a sumptuous table, and who has not cooks, and a great many more attendants, and who does not spend more on his daily living than men were formerly wont to spend on their festivals and sacrifices.

The early simplicity of the Romans naturally prevailed much longer in the country districts than in the city of Rome.

There by the time of Plautus considerable progress seems to have been made, for in *Casina,* 764; *Mostellaria,* 1; *Persae,* 631; and *Truculentus,* 615, a 'culina' is mentioned, thus showing that a special room for the preparation of meals had been added to the house by this time. In the following century Varro, Nonius, page 78, recommends placing the kitchen in the posterior part of the house.[1] While the plain everyday cooking of the family was still attended to doubtless by the 'matronæ' or slaves, they were not sufficiently skilled in the art to prepare meals for special occasions, and therefore a professional cook was hired from the forum for banquets, dinner parties, birthday entertainments, and wedding feasts. Up to this time, however, there was probably no slave even in the households of the wealthy, whose only duty it was to cook. That the slave who cooked had many other duties to perform also, is shown by a passage from Plautus, *Mercator,* 413 ff., in which Demipho says that the kind of maid they need is a lusty one who can grind, spin, be cudgeled, and cook the dinner for the family: in a word, a general maid-of-all-work. In the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, Cylindrus, the cook, is the private slave of the courtesan Erotium, but this is the only instance of a private slave as a professional cook in Plautus, and even he may have had other duties to attend to. We know at least that he did the marketing from *Menaechmi,* 273. Indeed, we have a direct statement from Pliny, *N. H.* 18, 108, that the ancient Romans did not have cooks as slaves, but hired them from the market-place.

After the war with Antiochus, when the army returned from the East, Oriental luxury invaded Rome, bringing with it among other things dainty dishes and cooks from Asia Minor.

[1] For '*culina*' see Blümner, *Römische Privat-Altertümer,* pp. 46 and 47, in Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft,* IV, 2, II; Becker's *Gallus,* II, 231; Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines,* II, 1580, in the article by Pottier under '*culina*'; and Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* IV, 1742. Cf. also Cicero, *Ad Familiares,* XV, 18; Horace, *Satires,* I, 5, 73; II, 5, 80, and Lucilius apud Nonium, p. 217, 20.

Then, as Livy, xxxix, 6, puts it, 'tum coquus vilissimum antiquis mancipium, et æstimatione, et usu in pretio esse, et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi cœpta.' Then scientific cooking began to prevail. Mommsen in his *History of Rome,* iii, 122, says: Hitherto without exception the Romans had partaken of hot dishes only once a day, now hot dishes were frequently produced at the second meal, the 'prandium,' and for the principal meal the two courses formerly in use were no longer sufficient. No doubt, shortly after the war with Antiochus there was a special slave who was cook in every well-to-do family, but culinary arrangements were much simpler than in later times. The luxury of the table cannot have been very great, for Pliny, *N. H.,* xviii, 107, says, 'Pistores Romæ non fuere ad Persicum usque bellum annis ab urbe condita super dlxxx. Ipsi panem faciebant Quirites, mulierumque id opus erat sicut etiam nunc in plurimis gentium,' and in 161 B. C. the fattening of hens aroused great indignation and was forbidden by the 'Lex Fannia,' Pliny, *N. H.* x, 139.

From this time on luxury and high living continually increased at Rome. Gluttony became the style; emetics were taken to increase the enjoyment of the palate, the cook became a more and more important factor in society, and large sums were paid for skilled members of his calling. Even in the country the early simplicity of former times finally gave way. In late Republican and early Imperial days there may have been some who would have enjoyed a dinner like that at which Cicero entertained Cæsar, *Ad Atticum,* xiii, 52, of which the entertainer implies that the conversation was quite as enjoyable a feature as the cooking. Yet large sums were now spent for elaborate dinners. Plutarch, *Lucullus,* xli, tells us that this epicure entertained Pompey and Cicero in one of his banquet rooms, the Apollo, at a cost of fifty thousand drachmas. In his *Antony,* xxviii, Plutarch also tells another story relative to the luxurious folly of the triumvir. Antony, says Plutarch, went to Alexandria with Cleopatra and there they had a kind of company of inimitable gourmands, and daily feasted one

another. Now Philotas of Amphissa, he continues, used to say that he became acquainted with one of the cooks, and was persuaded by him to view the costliness of the preparation for the table. He was introduced into the kitchen, where he saw everything in abundance, and eight wild boars were roasting whole, which made him wonder at the number of guests. Hereupon the cook laughed, and said that the party at supper was only twelve, but that it was necessary that everything should be served in perfection which a moment of time might spoil. "And," said he, "maybe Antony will sup just now, maybe not for an hour; hence it is that not one but many suppers must be in readiness."

As an example of extreme extravagance Seneca in his *Dialogues,* XII, x, 8 and 9, gives the story of the gourmand Apicius, who spent one hundred million 'sesterii' on his appetite. Then when he balanced his accounts, and discovered that he had only ten million 'sestertii' left, despairing of being able to satisfy the cravings of hunger and thirst with so paltry a sum, he took as a last draught a dose of poison. Martial, III, 22, tells the same story.

This author also informs us that not only were the Romans lavish in their expenditure for food, and careful about its preparation, but some of them were even fastidious about the personal appearance of their cooks. Martial addresses x, 63, to a beautiful youth, Theopompus. 'Who,' says he, 'was so hard-hearted, Theopompus, as to make you a cook, to defile such a face as yours with the smut of the kitchen, to pollute such locks with greasy soot? If this is the destiny of such brilliant beauty, let Jove make a cook of Ganymede.' Again the same author tells us, XII, 64, that Cinna appointed as cook one of his rosy attendants, who surpassed all the rest in beauty of features and hair.

The rich of the Empire truly lived to eat, and interesting stories could be told of the luxurious propensities of Nero, Caligula, and Heliogabalus. The latter, according to Lampridius, *Heliogabalus,* 20, was content only with such dainties as

the heels of camels, combs of live cocks, tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and other similar articles of food. This same emperor 'aliquando autem tribus milibus sestertium cenavit omnibus supputatis quæ impendit,' Lampridius, *Heliogabalus,* 24. To cater to such connoisseurs in the art of eating a very expert cook was necessarily required, and Martial, XIV, 220, tells us that in his day,

> Non satis est ars sola coco; servire palatum
> Nolo: cocus domini debet habere gulam.

Another part of the cooks' art consisted in disguising articles of food so as to make them appear entirely different from what they really were. Compare Martial, XI, 31, where delicacies of various kinds are said to have been prepared from common gourds. The stories which have been told are sufficient to show how great the number of cooks must have been to provide for the elaborate entertainments of the Empire, and that a division of their work was absolutely necessary. This division was actually made, for in the house of the emperor and the establishments of the wealthy, we find an 'archimagirus,' whose business it was to superintend the host of subordinates who made ready the meals for their lords. Of this superintendent and his assistants we shall have more to say later on.

The Romans as well as the Greeks had cook-books. Only one of these has come down to us entire. This bears the title *Apici Caeli de re coquinaria, libri X.* A famous gastronome who lived in the time of Tiberius bears the name of Apicius, and because of his unusual extravagance and gluttony the name seems to have become a synonym for foolish expenditure and abnormal high living. So famous was this character as a gourmand that Athenæus, VII, 294, f., tells us that Apion wrote a book on his luxurious living. Countless anecdotes were current about him, and many of his recipes were so famous that they bear his name. See Athenæus, I, 7, a. The cook-book which we possess is not, however, the work of this gastronome, for his name was M. Gavius Apicius and not Cælius. Moreover,

some of the recipes which it contains are a proof of a later date; for example, 205 is named for the Emperor Commodus. It is then probably a late work of about the third century, which was compiled from numerous Greek manuals on the subject of cooking. It is probable that it is not the work of an Apicius at all, but that a certain Cælius collected a number of recipes for cooking under the name of Apicius, and that the original title of the work was Cæli *Apicius de re coquinaria,* after the model of Cicero's *Cato de senectute.* This is the view taken by Schanz in his *Römische Litteratur-Geschichte,* in Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft,* VIII, II, 2, p. 506. The work is in ten books, each with a Greek name, and contains recipes for preparing and dressing all kinds of flesh, fish, and fowls, for compounding sauces, baking cakes, preserving sweetmeats, and flavoring wines. It is full of Greek terms, a proof, if one were needed, that the art of cooking had attained the highest development in Greece.

CHAPTER III

COOKS IN PLAUTUS. GREEK OR ROMAN?

In our study of Roman cooks the first source to which we turn is naturally Plautus, for he gives more examples of followers of this vocation than any other author. When we consider cooks in Plautus, however, we are at once puzzled by the following problem: to what extent is that author describing actual members of the culinary profession in Rome, and how far does he portray the calling as found in Greek Comedy? It may be impossible to unravel the puzzle fully, for Plautus, as we know, is in many respects a hopeless tangle of Roman and Greek elements. The scene of his plays is always laid in a Greek town, and yet he frequently refers to definite places in the city of Rome, such as the 'Macellum,' the 'Forum' with its money changers, and well known Roman temples. His characters have Greek names, but often Roman characteristics. While laws and the names of officials are usually Roman, and the gods have their Roman names, money and utensils seem to be Greek. Even the lowest slaves are quite familiar with the old stories of Greek mythology. Customs referred to are often Roman, and Roman festivals are frequently mentioned. So the mixture runs. Yet, as may be seen at once, while there is so much that is Greek in Plautus, he is nowhere a slavish imitator of his originals, and as Friedrich Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen,* 85, says, 'Aber Handlung und Charakter, Costum und Scenerie des Griechen, die er beibehielt mit souveräner Freiheit zu behandeln hatte er von Naevius gelernt.' It is then very difficult to separate the Roman and the Greek features in the comedies of Plautus, and to say just how far his characters are directly taken from, or exact imitations of those found in his Greek originals, and how much they are

modified by actual conditions existing in the city of Rome. It is, however, important for us to consider this question in our study of cooks, in order to decide to what extent we may draw on Plautus, who gives us more examples of cooks than any other author, for the characteristics of purely Roman members of that profession.

We may at least be sure that there were cooks in Italy, and in Rome, as early as the days of Plautus. For this assumption we find evidence both in inscriptions and in literature. *C. I. L.* XI, 3078 states that a gift was given to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva by a collegium of Faliscan cooks who were in Sardinia. It reads:

Iovei, Iunonei, Minervai, Falesce quei in Sardinia sunt, donum dederunt; magistreis L. Latrius K. F. C. Salv[e]na Voltai F. coiraveront.
Conlegium quod est aciptum aetatei age(n)d[ai],
Opiparum a[d] veitam quolundam festosque dies,
Quei soveis a[rg]utieis opidque Volgani
Condecorant sai[pi]sume comvivia loidosque
Ququei huc dederu[nt] [i]nperatoribus summeis,
Utei sesed lubent[es] [be]ne iovent optantis.

This inscription may be dated with certainty as far back as the time of Plautus. Falerii was destroyed by the Romans in the year 241 B. C. At this time the Faliscans were driven out of their city and compelled to settle elsewhere. As this was just about the time of the occupation of Sardinia by the Romans, a colony of Faliscans may have been placed on that island, hence the inscription which cannot be earlier than 241 B. C. If we examine the language of the inscription, we find there abundant evidence of an early date. Gemination of consonants began about 189 B. C. That this document stands at the transition period between the single and the double consonant is shown by the fact that there is a double consonant in 'summeis' but not in 'aciptum.' Other spelling would seem to point to even an earlier date, for example, 'loidosque'

and 'coiraveront'; for 'oi' became 'oe' and finally 'u' about the middle of the second century, B. C. Another evidence of early date is the old ablative in 'd' in 'opidque.' Lindsay in his *Latin Inscriptions,* p. 50, says, that in the poetry of Livius Andronicus and Naevius there are traces of this older form of the ablative. There is probably no trace of it in Plautus, certainly none in his dialogue verses. In the 'Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus' of 186 B. C., cf. *C. I. L.* I, 581, Diehl, *Altlateinsche Inschriften,* 188, it is invariably written, a practice quite in keeping with the archaic orthography of a state decree. On the earlier and less formal edict of Aemilius Paulus, 189 B. C., it is not found, cf. *C. I. L.* II, 5041.

According, then, both to the probable origin of this inscription, and the internal evidence found in its language, the conclusion may be drawn that it is at least a contemporaneous document with the works of Plautus, and a proof that cooks were of considerable importance in other parts of Italy besides Rome, and hence also in that city by his time.

Literature also furnishes evidence of cooks in Rome as early as the time of Plautus. Livy, XXXIX, 6, says, as we have seen, that foreign luxury was brought to Rome by the Asiatic army after the war with Antiochus, and, 'Tum coquus vilissimum antiquis mancipium, et aestimatione, et usu in pretio esse, et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepta.' The words 'Tum coquus vilissimum antiquis mancipium' show that there were cooks in Rome before this time, 191 B. C., even if their vocation was not counted among the arts. They were probably the ordinary slaves of the household, for Pliny, *N. H.* XVIII, 108, says in speaking of the early Romans, 'Nec cocos vero habebant in servitiis eosque ex macello conducebant.' He is referring here not to cooks as unimportant members of the household of slaves, but to professional cooks who took their stand in the market, as we shall see the cooks in Plautus did, and were hired for special occasions, although there must have been slaves belonging to each family who prepared the ordinary meals. These two passages, then, would lead us to suppose

that, at Rome in early times, the regular daily cooking was done by some common slave belonging to the household; but that, just as in Greece up to Alexandrian times, the ordinary house slaves were not able to meet the requirements for the preparation of feasts and great dinners, so in Rome for special occasions an expert cook was hired from the 'Forum.' This is exactly the condition of affairs found in Plautus. In the *Mercator,* 390 ff., we see that cooking as well as various other duties was performed by ordinary slaves of the household. Demipho asks Charinus if he has not brought a slave from Rhodes to wait upon his mother. Charinus replies that he has, but Demipho objects that her person is too delicate, and says that a maid is of no use to them who cannot weave, grind, cut wood, spin, sweep the house, take a whipping, and cook the daily meals for the family. On the contrary, the cook for a special occasion: wedding feast, dinner party, or birthday entertainment was hired from the 'Forum' as *Aulularia,* 280; *Mercator,* 697; and *Pseudolus,* 798 ff., show. The only exception to this general rule is in the *Menaechmi,* where, as already stated, the courtesan Erotium is sufficiently wealthy to have a special cook as one of her slaves.

Even if we were to admit that there were no professional cooks at Rome before the time of Plautus, we must remember that the period of that author's greatest productivity lay between 204 and 184 B. C., and that the latter part of this period coincides with the time when Livy tells us that cookery became an art, and the cook became a person of importance. For this reason, then, if Plautus is not describing conditions existing in Rome before his own day when he says that cooks for special occasions were hired from the market place, he is at least giving a custom which was just then being introduced into Rome from Greece, with which his audience was thoroughly familiar.

One reason for believing that Plautus is describing Roman rather than Greek cooks is that in Greek Comedy the professional cook is never represented as a slave, except in a play of

Posidippus, cf. Athenaeus, XIV, 658 f. Rankin in his dissertation on *The Role of the* Μάγειροι *in the Life of the Ancient Greeks,* p. 20, thinks that even this cook was not a slave but an apprentice or understudy to a higher *μάγειρος*. Athenaeus continues in the passage just cited that the introduction of slaves as cooks took place first among the Macedonians, but Plautus's cooks, if purely Greek, would most probably be taken from Greek Comedy, and there they are not portrayed in a slavish condition. In Plautus, on the contrary, cooks seem always to be slaves. As has been said, Cylindrus, the cook in the *Menaechmi,* is the private slave of the courtesan Erotium. *Aulularia,* 309, shows that the two cooks in that play are slaves, for they speak of purchasing their freedom. The treatment of cooks in Plautus would also indicate that they were slaves. In the *Aulularia,* 345 ff., one of the cooks says, 'If any thing be missing they will say the cooks have stolen it, seize them, flog them, and thrust them into the dungeon.' Again, *Aulularia,* 409, Congrio, the cook, says, 'They have pounded me so, poor wretch, and my pupils, too, that I am sore all over, so lustily has that old fellow belabored me by way of exercise.' Cylindrus, *Menaechmi,* 275, fearing punishment because he is late, says, 'Vae tergo meo.' In Greek Comedy, on the other hand, cooks usually received treatment worthy of free men, and even a certain amount of respect, cf. Rankin in the dissertation referred to above, in the chapter on the *Social Status of the* Μάγειροι, p. 11 ff.

The fact that the cooks in the comedies of Plautus have in general the same personal characteristics as those in Greek Comedy may seem to indicate that his cooks were taken directly from the Greek. The long scene beginning *Pseudolus,* 790, in which the cook boasts of his accomplishments, is really typically Greek. Ballio, upon his return from the 'Forum Coquinum,' says, 'Were I on my oath I could not find a greater rascal than this cook whom I bring, a prating, boastful, silly, worthless fellow.' Later the chef lives up to his bragging reputation, and says, 843 ff., that Jupiter sups daily on the

odors from his saucepans, and that when he does not cook, the king of gods goes hungry to bed. In this play, too, 850 ff., we are reminded of the thievish propensities of cooks. Other examples of the characteristics of cooks will be given in a later chapter, but these are sufficient to show that in the main they agree with those of members of the same calling in Greece. This, however, may prove nothing more than that cooks the world over, and for all time, have the same besetting sins, for if we compare Roman cooks with those of our own time, we shall find a startling similarity in their thievish and other propensities.

To sum up what has been said in this chapter:—We have both inscriptional and literary evidence for cooks in Rome as early as the time of Plautus; we know that he was writing at the very time when luxury and professional cooks were brought in from the East; the cooks in Plautus are slaves and not free as they were in Greek Comedy from which his cooks, if Greek, would most probably be taken. The fact that the characteristics of Greek and Roman cooks are the same proves nothing. Hence we may conclude that Plautus, while undoubtedly depending to some extent on his Greek originals, is nevertheless largely describing culinary artists as he actually saw them in the city of Rome.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATIONALITY OF COOKS

The Roman cook was a slave from the time of Plautus, and even earlier, until the 'chef' became of sufficient importance at Rome to gain his freedom, either as a gift for some especially happy work of genius, or to purchase it by savings from the enormous sums which were paid him in later days. M. Bang, in *Die Herkunft der Römischen Sklaven,* published in the *Römische Mittheilungen,* 1910, p. 247, says that the slave land 'par excellence' for all times was Syria. The ancients thought that the Syrians were born and predestined to slavery. Cicero, *de Provinciis Consularibus,* 5, 10, says, 'Iam vero publicanos miseros . . . . . . tradidit in servitutem Iudaeis et Syris, nationibus natis servituti.' With this compare also Livy, xxxv, 49, 8, and xxxvi, 17, 5, 'Syri et Asiatici Graeci . . . . . . vilissima genera hominum et servituti nata'; and also Plautus, *Trinummus,* 542, 'Syrorum, genus quod patientissumumst hominum.' With the Syrians and the Jews the Greeks of Asia Minor shared this doubtful fame as nations born to slavery. The exportation of slaves flourished especially in Phrygia, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Cilicia.

The passage in Plautus, *Mercator,* 413-416, suggests that even at that early date Syrian slaves were regarded as especially fitted for performing the menial tasks of the household,

ego emero matri tuae
Ancillam viraginem aliquam non malam, forma mala,
Ut matrem addecet familias, aut Syram aut Aegyptiam;
Ea molet, coquet, conficiet pensum, pinsetur flagro.

As slaves were often given the name of the country from which they came, the baker *C. I. L.* vi, 6338,

'Prima Sura
Alexandri L. Pist.'

was no doubt a Syrian. Athenaeus, III, 112, tells us that the most celebrated bakers were from Lydia, Phoenicia, and Cappadocia. Croesus, according to Herodotus, I, 51, honored the woman who made his bread with a statue of gold. Scribonius Largus, III, mentions Syrian cooks. Perhaps, however, the strongest evidence we have that cooks came from Asia is to be found in the oft-quoted passage from Livy, XXXIX, 6, that after the war with Antiochus, eastern luxury was brought into Rome. Then 'epulae quoque ipsae et cura et sumptu maiore apparari coeptae.' Doubtless the cooks who prepared these 'epulae' were those brought with the army from Asia, who had been trained to concoct dainty dishes in their own country, and who later instructed the ordinary Roman cook in the trade which was soon to become an art. Pliny, *N. H.* X, 140, says that 'Dedere et Parthi cocis suos mores.'

The belief that many cooks came from Asia and Asia Minor is strengthened by their names, which in several cases point to the East. Adrastus, the name of a cook *C. I. L.* VI, 9263, is clearly an Asia Minor name, as will be shown in a later chapter on names. Eros, the name of a cook *C. I. L.* VI, 6246, and also VI, 8753, and the cognomen of the cooks *C. I. L.* VI, 33838, and *C. I. L.* VI, 9270, although a common name of slaves and freedmen, seems, according to M. Bang's list in the article quoted above, to suggest Cappadocia. Compare *C. I. L.* VI, 6510, 11188, and XI, 864. *C. I. L.* VI, 8752 gives a cook's name, 'M. Aurelius Bit.' Mommsen makes the full cognomen Bithus. Maffei suggests Bithynicus. According to Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen,* one Bithus was the son of Zeus, from whom the Bithynians are said to have been named, another the son of Mars, from whom Bithynia took its name. Either cognomen, 'Bithus' or 'Bithynicus,' points to Bithynia in Asia Minor, which supplied many slaves. *C. I. L.* VI, 9266, 'Arax. cocus,' suggests the 'Αράξης, a river in Armenia. *C. I. L.* X, 5211 reads, 'L. Clodius Antioc. Tuscus.'

The cognomen 'Antioc.' may indicate Syria as the native land either of this cook or of his ancestors, for Antiochus was the name of several kings of Syria from the family of the Seleucidae. In *C. I. L.* XII, 4468 we have a cook, 'M. Egnatius Lugius.' Pape says that the *Λύγιοι* were a people in Mysia. More will be said about these names in a later chapter, but this is sufficient to show that the names of several cooks seem to point to Asia Minor. That the Greeks also used Asiatics for cooks, is shown by the fact that many dishes mentioned in Athenaeus come from Lydia.

The most famous cooks were, however, from Sicily, as passages from Greek Comedy and Athenaeus testify. For these cf. Rankin, *The Role of the* Μάγειροι *in the Life of the Ancient Greeks,* p. 40. The Sicilian Labdacus was represented, Meineke, *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum* IV, 459, and Kock, *Fragmenta Comicorum Atticorum* III, 296, as the teacher of other famous *μάγειροι*. Plato, *Gorgias,* 518 b, refers to a treatise on Sicilian cookery by Mithaecus, and Athenaeus, III, 101 and 102, mentions a work of Archestratus of Gela. *Σικελικὴ τράπεζα* was a proverbial phrase for a table furnished profusely and luxuriously. For this expression, cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer,* under 'Siculus.' That the Romans also especially esteemed Sicilian cooks is shown by their use of a similar phrase, 'Siculae dapes,' to designate peculiarly appetizing dishes. Compare Horace, *Carmina,* III, 1, 18, 'Non Siculae dapes dulcem elaborabunt saporem'; Macrobius, *Saturn.* VII, 5, 24, 'Modum vero servat qui sui potens est et in mensa Sicula vel Asiana'; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations,* v, 35; Plautus, *Rudens,* 53.

> Infit lenoni suadere ut secum simul
> Eat in Siciliam: ibi esse homines voluptarios.
> Dicit, potesse ibi eum fieri divitem.

The luxurious life at the court of the tyrants of Syracuse was probably not without influence on the origin of the proverb.

One cook from Syracuse so disguised a herring that Domitian thought it was a lamprey.

Many Roman cooks were Greek slaves, as their names bear witness, but it is often impossible to find out from what part of Greece they or their ancestors came.

That some were of the same nationality as the servants in our own sunny Southland is the evidence of Martial, VI, 39, 6: 'Hic qui retorto crine Maurus incedit, subolem fatetur esse se coci Santrae.' Another African cook is the 'Cattosus bene Christianus,' an anomaly among cooks because of his honesty, who lived in Hippo and of whom Augustinus tells in *De Civitate Dei,* XXII, 8. His strange story runs as follows: There was a certain old man of Hippo, Florentius, who was religious but poor. He lost his coat, and had not the money with which to buy another, so he prayed in a loud voice to the twenty martyrs. A little later, while walking silently by the shore, he found a huge fish panting on the sand. He picked it up and sold it to a cook, Cattosus, who was a Christian, then went off to buy the wool from which his wife might make a coat for him. But the cook, in the meantime cutting the fish, found in it a gold ring, and moved by compassion and terrified by his religious fear, he gave it to Florentius, saying, 'Behold how the twenty martyrs have clothed you.'

It is possible that the Romans may have derived some of their table customs and probably their cooks also from the Etruscans. Posidonius in his history, book II, is quoted by Athenaeus, IV, 153, d, as saying that among the Etruscans luxurious tables were spread twice a day, that they had couches embroidered with flowers, and silver drinking cups of every sort. The cognomen of the cook *C. I. L.* X, 5211, 'L. Clodius Antioc. Tuscus,' may imply that he was of Etruscan origin, although the double cognomen here complicates the question and makes us uncertain whether to look to Syria or to Etruria for this cook's ancestors. The cognomen Tuscus is often found in inscriptions of Etruria, *C. I. L.* XI, 1810, and others.

CHAPTER V

NAMES OF COOKS

Alphabetical List

Acas(tus), *C. I. L.* vi, 7602.
Adrastus, *C. I. L.* vi, 9263.
Aelius Ep(a)phroditus, *C. I. L.* vi, 9262.
Titus Aelius Primitivus, *C. I. L.* vi, 7458.
Titus Aelius Primitivus, *C. I. L.* vi, 8750.
Alexand(e)r (?), *C. I. L.* vi, 9264.
Anthrax, Plautus, *Aulularia,* 287.
Apoli(naris), *C. I. L.* xiv, 2875.
Apollonius, *C. I. L.* vi, 9265.
Aprilis, *C. I. L.* iv, 6823.
Arax(us) (?), *C. I. L.* vi, 9266.
Lucius Arruntius Hilario, *C. I. L.* xi, 3850.
Aurelius Zoticus, Dio Cassius, lxxix, 16, 3.
Marcus Aurelius Bit(hus), *C. I. L.* vi, 8752.
Caecilius Felix, *C. I. L.*, vi, 7433.
Cario, Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus,* 1397, 1427.
Quintus Catius Herma, *C. I. L.* xii, 4470.
Cattosus, Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei,* xxii, 8.
Citrio, Plautus, *Casina,* 744.
Lucius Clodius Antioc. Tuscus, *C. I. L.* x, 5211.
Congrio, Plautus, *Aulularia,* 285.
Cylindrus, Plautus, *Menaechmi,* 294.
Daedalus, Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 70.
Dama, Porphyrion on Horace, *Satires,* i, 1, 101.
Artemo Dindius, *C. I. L.* xiv, 2875.
Dromo, Plautus, *Aulularia,* 398.
M. Egnatius Lugius, *C. I. L.* xii, 4468.
Eros, *C. I. L.* vi, 6246.

Eros Cornufi(cianus), *C. I. L.* VI, 8753.
Faustus Eros, *C. I. L.* VI, 9261.
Firmus, *C. I. L.* VI, 5197.
Marcus Fuficius Eros, *C. I. L.* VI, 9270.
Gaius Genicilius Domesticus, *C. I. L.* VI, 9271.
Hephaestio, Apuleius, *Metamorphoses,* IX, 2.
Herma, *C. I. L.* VI, 9267.
Hilarus Barbianus, *C. I. L.* VI, 6247.
Gaius Iulius Eros, *C. I. L.* VI, 33838.
L. Latrius, *C. I. L.* XI, 3078.
Machaerio, Plautus, *Aulularia,* 398.
Marcius Faustus, *C. I. L.* IX, 3938.
Menogenes, Pliny, *N. H.* VII, 54.
Mistyllos, Martial, I, 50, 1 (fictitious).
Philargurus, *C. I. L.* VI, 9268.
(Ph)ileros, *C. I. L.* VI, 6248.
Photio Sestianus (?), *C. I. L.* VI, 8754.
L. Plotius (?), Orelli, 7227. Compare *C. I. L.* IV, 373.
Protus, *C. I. L.* XIV, 2875.
Rodo, *C. I. L.* XIV, 2875.
C. Salv[e]na, *C. I. L.* XI, 3078.
Santra, Martial, VI, 39, 7.
Seleucus Germanicus, *C. I. L.* VI, 33767.
Sosias, Ausonius, IV, 6, 1.
Suellius (?), Orelli, 7227.
Symph(orus), *C. I. L.* VI, 8751.
Taratalla, Martial, I, 50, 2 (fictitious).
Tasus (?), *C. I. L.* VI, 5197.
Theopompus, Martial, X, 66.
Tyrannus, *C. I. L.* VI, 9269.
Marcus Valerius Optatus, *C. I. L.* V, 2544.
Zena, *C. I. L.* VI, 6249.
Zethus, *C. I. L.* VI, 8755.

To this list may be added the names of some cooks of Roman times found in Greek inscriptions, papyri, and literature:

Ἀγάθων, *I. G.* VII, 1562.

Ἀλέξᾶς, Dittenberger und Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia,* 64.

Ἀμμωνᾶς, *Oxyrhynchus Pap.,* I, No. 118.

Βεσβεῖτις, *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koenig. Mus. zu Berlin,* Griech. Urkund., 1, No. 6.

Γρηγόριος, *Papiri Greci Egizii,* II.

" *Fiorentini,* 166.

Δίδυμος, *I. G.* XII, 8, 595.

Διόσκορος, *Oxyrhynchus Pap.,* I, No. 118.

Ἐπαφ(ρόδειτος), Dittenberger und Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia,* No. 74.

Εὐτροπίων, Plutarch, *Moralia,* περὶ παιδῶν ἀγωγῆς, 11, B.

Ζέννιος, *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koenig. Mus. zu Berlin,* Griech. Urkund. 3, No. 932.

Ζωΐλος, *Griech. Pap. im Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen,* Band I, Heft. 3, No. 101.

Ζώσιμος, *I. G.* XIV, 617.

Ἰσίας, *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koenig. Mus. zu Berlin,* Griech. Urkund. I, No. 151.

Κάλας, *Amherst Pap.* II, No. 127.

Πάρων, *I. G.* XII, 5, No. 54.

Πόλλων, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum,* III, p. 236, No. 1254.

Ῥόδ(ων), *I. G.* XII, 5, 646.

[Σ]ύντροφος, Dittenberger und Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia,* No. 87.

Seventy-nine in all.

Names in Literature

The majority of the names of cooks found in Latin literature are used for comic effect, or as indicative of their occupation. In this class, as might be expected, may be placed the names of nearly all the cooks in Plautus.

In the *Aulularia* the cooks are Congrio and Anthrax. Con-

grio is derived from 'conger,' sea eel, and may possibly have been given to the cook as a testimony of the slippery, thievish propensities belonging to the followers of his profession, or else because it was the name of an article of food. Somewhat similar names are found in Greek Comedy. Βοιδίων is the name of a cook in Sosipater. Kock, III, p. 314; and Μοσχίων of another, Athenaeus, XII, 542 f. The latter is also the name of a parasite, Alexis, Kock, II, p. 383. Fick-Bechtel, *Griechische Personennamen,* pp. 314 ff., has a section devoted to 'Tiernamen als Menschennamen.'

Anthrax, the name of another cook in the same comedy, means coal, and this suggests at once the calling to which he belongs, since it is with the element of fire that cooks are most engaged. The association of cooks with Vulcan is not at all unusual. He is mentioned in the inscription of Faliscan cooks, *C. I. L.* XI, 3078. In the *Iudicium Coci et Pistoris, Poetae Latini Minores,* Baehrens, IV, 379, Vulcan is the judge. In the *Menaechmi,* 329 f., the cook says,

> Ire hercle meliust te interim atque accumbere,
> Dum ego haec adpono ad Volcani violentiam.

In the *Aulularia,* 359 ff. the following words are addressed to the cook:

> Quid? Impurate, quamquam Volcano studes,
> Cenaene causa aut tuae mercedis gratia
> Nos nostras aedis postulas comburere?

For Ἀνθράκιον as the name of a female slave, compare Fick-Bechtel, *op. cit.*, pp. 330 f. The name Anthrax is not found elsewhere in literature. It occurs, however *C. I. L.* VI, 6405, 'Anthrax Sosian(us) hic,' and *C. I. L.* X, 3282, thus showing that it is not purely fictitious.

In the *Aulularia,* 398 f., we get also two names belonging probably to a cook's attendants or apprentices. Anthrax is giving his orders. He says:

Dromo, desquama piscis; tu Machaerio,
Congrum, murenam ex dorsua quantum potest.

Dromo, Greek Δρόμων = a runner, is a rather common name in Greek Comedy, cf. Athenaeus, XIV, 644, e; IX, 377, d; VI, 240, d; IX, 409, e. It is the name of a cook in Dionysius, quoted by Athenaeus, IX, 381, d. Among the Romans it is a slave's name, and a cognomen of freedmen. It occurs as the latter *C. I. L.* V, 994, and elsewhere. It is the name of a slave in Plautus, *Asinaria,* 441; and also in Terence, *Andria,* 860; *Adelphoe,* 376; and *Heauton Timorumenos,* 249. This name and that of the cook in the *Miles Gloriosus* are the only ones connected with the culinary profession in Plautus which are not used for comic effect and to suggest the owner's occupation.

Machaerio, *Aulularia,* 398, suggests an implement which was much used by cooks. Compare the conversation between Euclio and the cook, *Aulularia,* 416 ff.

Euc. Quia ad trisviros iam ego deferam nomen tuom.
Cong. Quam ob rem?
Euc. Quia cultrum habes. Cong. Cocum decet.

In the *Truculentus,* 615, Cuamus says,

Si tu legioni bellator clues, at ego in culina clueo.

And in 627 he says again to the soldier Stratophanes,

Captiost: istam machaeram longiorem habes quam haec est.

In the *Miles,* 1397, the following command is addressed to the cook, Cario: 'culter probe.' In Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 49, the cook seizes his knife and slashes the hog. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses,* VIII, 31, the cook begins sharpening his knives to slay an ass. In *C. I. L.* IX, 767, b, 'Machaera' is a cognomen. In the *Testamentum Porcelli,* 'Magirus cocus' said, 'Transi puer affer mihi de cocina cultrum ut hunc porcellum faciam cruentum.' Μαχαιρίων is the name of a

physician in Galen, of the man who killed Epaminondas, Paus. VIII, 11, 5. Karl Schmidt in an article on *Griechische Personennamen bei Plautus, Hermes,* 37, 196, says, 'Der Träger des Namens ist nach dem Messer benannt das er zu handhaben versteht, wie Γρῖπος nach dem Fischernetze.'

In the Casina the name of the culinary artist is Citrio, which is probably derived from *Χύτρα,* meaning an earthen pot or kettle for boiling. Similar names in Greek Comedy are *Πατανίων,* the name of a cook, Athenaeus, IV, 169, e; and *Λαγυνίων* from *λάγυνος,* the name of a parasite, Athenaeus, XIII, 584, f.

In the *Menaechmi,* too, the cook, Cylindrus, probably gets his name from the utensil which he frequently uses in making pastry, namely the rolling pin. Schmidt, however, in the article previously mentioned (*Hermes* 37, p. 365). says, 'Der Name bezeichnet das Aussehen des Mannes.'

Cario, Greek *Καρίων, Miles,* 1397, is found in Greek Comedy, and is a common name for slaves. Compare Aristophanes, *Plutus,* 1100 ff. It is the name of a cook in Euphorion, quoted by Athenaeus, IX, 377, d. In Latin it is also found as the name of a slave in Petronius, *Satirae,* 71, 5. It occurs as a 'cognomen' in *C. I. L.* V, 5817, and II, 819. It is derived from Κάρ, and is a formation in *ιων,* see Fick-Bechtel, *op. cit.,* p. 342, hence means a little Carian or is contemptuous. For meaning compare also the following lines, Kock, III, 481:

> Λυδοὶ πονηροί, δεύτεροι δ' Αἰγύπτιοι
> τρίτοι δὲ πάντων Κᾶρες ἐξωλέστατοι.

Besides the names of cooks in Plautus, several of the others found in literature seem to be used for comic effect, or as indicative of the calling. In Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 70, Trimalchio fittingly named his cook Daedalus, for according to his master's story he could make a fish from the paunch of a pig, a wood pigeon from fat bacon, a turtle dove from a ham, and a fowl from the knuckle bone. Daedalus is always the name of an artist of some kind, and here it is a kitchen expert. In Pausanias, IX, 3, 2, Daedalus the father of Icarus

is mentioned from whom a line of artists in Athens and Crete bore the name. Cf. Homer, *Il.*, XVIII, 592; Herodotus, VII, 170; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, IV, 2, 33. In later times it is the name of a Bithynian artist, and of others also. Indeed, the name seems to have passed almost into a proverb for one who was skilled. Hence Trimalchio called his cook Daedalus. A Greek μάγειρος bears this name in Athenaeus, VII, 293, a. See also Philostephanus, Kock, III, 393. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 185, says, 'Bedeutet es so viel wie Tausendkünstler.'

In Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 9, 2, Hephaestio reminds us once more of the frequent association of cooks with the god of fire. For this compare the passages referred to under Anthrax, and also *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta*, Naevius, Fragmenta Incerta, XIV:

> Cocus edit Neptunum, Cererem,
> Et Venerem expertam, Volcanom, Liberumque obsorbuit
> Pariter.

In Martial, I, 50, we get two fanciful names for cooks, Mistyllos and Taratalla. These come from a meaningless pun on Homer, *Il.* I, 465. Compare also *Il.* II, 428, and *Od.* III, 462.

Another cook's name recorded in literature is Dama, Porphyrion on Horace's *Satires*, I, l. 101. It is a slave's name also in Persius, V, 76; and Horace, *Satires*, I, 6, 38; II, 5, 18 and 101; and II, 7, 54. A certain Dama is the son of a baker, Martial, VI, 39, 11 and the name is also found in Martial, XII, 17, 10. Another Dama is a 'conviva' at the *Cena Trimalchionis*, Petronius, 41. As the context in which it is found shows, the name is usually a slave-name.

Menogenes, Pliny, *N. H.* VII, 54, and Valerius Maximus, IX, 14, 2, is the cook of Pompeius Strabo. Among the Romans this too is a name of slaves and a cognomen of freedmen. Compare *C. I. L.* III, 391; *C. I. L.* XIV, 3959; *Ephem. Epigr.* V, p. 55, 139. In Martial, XII, 82, Menogenes is the name of a famous parasite, and in Val. Max. 9, 145, is referred to as the name of an actor.

The names of cooks in literature are, as we may judge from these examples, in the main fanciful. They are used for comic effect, and often suggest the occupation of the owner. They are often taken from slaves' names in Greek Comedy, and are in several cases the same as those of cooks found there. We can draw few if any conclusions from them, because of their fanciful nature. On the contrary, when we consider names on stone we are sure that we are dealing with actual fact. These old Roman cooks whom the Latin authors usually considered of too little importance to give passing mention have left in the inscriptions a truthful record both of their own names, and also of certain members of their families.

Names in Inscriptions

Let us consider first those names on stone which are indicative of nationality. It was, as we know, a common custom for a slave to bear the name of the country from which he came. While we have no cook's name which tells us directly the land of his origin, there are several that indicate nationality in as much as they are frequently found in certain localities. For example, Adrastus, *C. I. L.* vi, 9263, is undoubtedly an Asia Minor name. *American Journal of Archaeology,* xvi, 1912, p. 29, *Greek Inscriptions from Sardes* by Mr. W. H. Buckler and Prof. D. M. Robinson. To quote from this article: Adrastus is especially common in Phrygia and is known in Lydia. On coins of Phrygia and Lydia we find Adrasteia nursing the infant Zeus. Cf. Head, *Historia Nummorum,* pp. 660-667. Strabo, 588 mentions a place, Adrasteia in Mysia, which was named from King Adrastus. Herodotus, i, 35, tells the story of a Phrygian nobleman Adrastus who came to Croesus and was purified by him. Pausanias, vii, 6, 6, 9, mentions a Lydian Adrastus. An Adrastus is found also on Carian coins. Among the Romans Adrastus was a name of slaves and a cognomen of freedmen from the beginning of Imperial times. In *C. I. L.* vi, 6337, we find a baker with this

name. Compare *C. I. L.* x, 2342. Freedmen are found *C. I. L.* vi, 33608, 1585, b, 9263; ix, 5673; x, 741; v, 978, 2629, 3023; vi, 21617; xiv, 1623; xii, 871; iii, 7985; and others.

Arax(us) the name of the cook in *C. I. L.* vi, 9266, suggests the Araxes river in Armenia, which flows into the Caspian Sea and is mentioned in Strabo, i, 61; Seneca, *Medea,* 376; Propertius, iii, 12, 8, and iv, 3, 35. There was a king of Armenia by this name from whom the river may have taken its title, Plutarch, *Fluv.* 23. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* prefers, however, to consider the name Araxus from Greek Ἄραξος. As it is a question of restoration, it is impossible to say which was the actual name.

C. I. L. vi, 8752, reads 'Marcus Aurelius Bit.' There are two suggestions for this cognomen. Maffei says Bithynicus, which would point to Asia Minor, especially Bithynia, as the land of this cook's origin, for we know that the cognomen frequently indicated nationality. Bithynicus is found as a cognomen both in literature and inscriptions. Compare Cicero, *Brutus,* 240, 4, 'Pompeius A. F. qui Bithynicus est'; *Paulus ex Festo,* De Ponor, 354, 'Pompeius Bithynicus'; also *C. I. L.* vi, 33087, 7749, 9624; ix, 1414, and others. Mommsen, however, thinks that the cognomen should be 'Bithus,' a Thracian name often found in inscriptions. In these the word 'Bithus' is often followed by 'Thrax' or 'Trax,' *C. I. L.* vi, 2601, 3195, 34619. Even 'Bithus,' although it is a Thracian name, may point to Bithynia as the land from which Marcus Aurelius came, for Pape, *Wörterbuch der gr. Eigennamen* under 'Bithus,' says that there was a son of Zeus by this name, from whom the Bithynians were said to have derived their title. Hence this cognomen also seems to point to Asia Minor.

The next name which may suggest nationality is 'Lucius Clodius Antioc. Tuscus,' *C. I. L.* x, 5211. The cognomen 'Antiochus' was probably originally this cook's slave-name, and this would indicate Syria either as his land or that of his ancestors. For 'Antiochus' was the name of several kings of Syria from the family of the Seleucidae. See De Vit's *Totius*

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Latinitatis Onomasticon, under the word 'Antiochus,' for their family tree. Other kings from Commagene, a northern province of Syria, also bear this name. Antiochia, a city of Syria near the Orontes river, was no doubt named for one of these kings. See Pape, *op. cit.,* for many famous Syrians who were called 'Antiochus.' Among the Romans the name occurs rather frequently as a name of slaves and a cognomen of freedmen, cf. the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* under the word for examples.

The name 'M. Egnatius Lugius,' *C. I. L.* XII, 4468, may also point to Asia Minor, for Pape says that the *Λύγιοι* were a people of Mysia, D. Cass. 67, 5. Mommsen, however, suggests another cognomen, and would emend the inscription [M.']l. Ugius (i. e. Hygius) ?.

'Seleucus Germanicus,' if this is really the cook's name in *C. I. L.* VI, 33767, calls to mind once more the famous Syrian family of the Seleucidae.

'Cario,' the name of the cook in Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus,* 1397, is the Greek *Καρίων,* derived from *Κάρ* with the diminutive ending *ιωι,* hence may suggest that this cook was a Carian. This is, however, doubtful, as Cario in this case is probably a slave-name which is taken from comedy.

Aurelius Zoticus, who had such influence in the days of Heliogabalus, was a cook, and as Dio Cassius, LXXIX, 16, 3, tells us, the son of a Smyrnean *μάγειρος.*

From this consideration of names we may draw the conclusion that many cooks or their ancestors came from Asia Minor or the East.

Let us next consider the names of cooks which contain the 'nomina' of Roman 'gentes.' When a slave was freed by his master's good will, or when he purchased his freedom, he took as his 'nomen' the 'nomen' of his master; sometimes he took also the 'praenomen.' For his third name or 'cognomen' he kept his own slave-name. As in late Republican and in Imperial times cooks were doubtless in the possession of many families, and as they were often freed for their excellent services

or bought their independence, we find in the names of these freedmen those of the Roman 'gentes.'

The 'gens Aelia' is represented by two cooks, who probably belonged to the household of Hadrian, 'Aelius Ephproditus,' *C. I. L.* vi, 9262; and 'T. Aelius Primitivus,' *C. I. L.* vi, 8750 and 7458. This family then, which counts in Roman history a great number of illustrious representatives, and from which the Antonines sprang, holds among its humbler claimants our two cooks mentioned above.

The 'gens Aurelia,' of plebeian origin, which was consecrated from all antiquity to the service of the gods, particularly to the cult of the sun, from which Marcus Aurelius sprang, is represented by an imperial cook, 'Marcus Aurelius Bit(hus),' *C. I. L.* vi, 8752, who was doubtless very proud of his name.

The 'gens Arruntia' of Etruscan origin is represented by 'Lucius Arruntius Hilario,' *C. I. L.* xi, 3850.

From the 'gens Caecilia' we have 'Caecilius Felix,' *C. I. L.* vi, 7433. This family was of plebeian origin, but after the third century B. C. it always occupied a brilliant place in the Republic, and its members forged a mythological origin. They pretended to be descended from Caeculus, the legendary founder of Praeneste, who was called the son of Vulcan. Another tradition gave them as an ancestor 'Caecus,' one of the companions of Aeneas.

From the 'gens Catia' comes 'Quintus Catius Herma,' *C. I. L.* xii, 4470. This family is known both from Latin writers and inscriptions. In the latter it occurs frequently in Cisalpine Gaul and Narbonensis. The inscription just cited is from Narbo. See W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen,* p. 76; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* iii, 1792.

The 'gens Clodia,' from which comes 'Lucius Clodius Antioc. Tuscus,' *C. I. L.* x, 5211, was originally of the country of the Sabines. It contained a number of illustrious representatives who posed as champions of the patricians. The decemvir Appius Claudius comes from this family, as did also the emperors

Tiberius and Claudius. It counted little for men of war, but rendered immense services to science and literature. Cf. De Vit, *Onomasticon.*

The 'Dindia,' which is a very ancient 'gens,' is represented by 'Artemo Dindius,' *C. I. L.* xiv, 2875.

From the 'gens Egnatia' comes 'M. Egnatius Lugius,' *C. I. L.* xii, 4468. This was originally from Samnium. It was established at Rome and admitted to the senate.

Of the 'gens Fuficia' is 'Marcus Fuficius Eros,' *C. I. L.* vi, 9270. This seems to have been derived from the 'gens Fufia' by adding a syllable. The 'Fufia' was a very old plebeian 'gens' of Campanian origin.

The 'gens Genicilia' has 'Gaius Genicilius Domesticus,' *C. I. L.* vi, 9271. This family is probably known only from inscriptions. See Fabretti, p. 625, n. 211.

'Gaius Iulius Eros,' *C. I. L.* vi, 33838 belongs to what was regarded as the most illustrious of the patrician families. The members gave themselves divine origin, and claimed to be descended from Ascanius, the son of Venus and Anchises.

The 'gens Latria' is represented by 'Lucius Latrius,' *C. I. L.* xi, 3078. This family seems to be known from inscriptions only.

From the patrician 'gens Marcia' comes 'Marcius Faustus,' *C. I. L.* ix, 3938. The members of this family boasted counting among their ancestors the kings Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius.

According to Orelli, 7227, from the 'gens Plotia' we have 'Lucius Plotius.' From the time of C. Plotius who obtained the consulship in 358 B. C. the Plotii occupied high offices in the Republic. Lucius is one of their regular 'praenomina.'

'Marcus Valerius Optatus,' *C. I. L.* v, 2544, belongs to the 'gens Valeria.' This was one of the most ancient and most illustrious families. From 245 B. C. to the end of the Imperial period it occupied a prominent place in Roman history. Several emperors were descended from it.

In addition to the above Roman 'gentes' which we may be sure possessed cooks, because their names are found as the 'nom-

ina' of cooks, several other families are given in the 'cognomina' of men of the same calling. When a slave passed from one master to another by sale or inheritance, or a 'libertus' from one patron to another, he received a 'cognomen' which was formed of the name of his previous master or patron compounded with 'anus' to show whence he came. This is almost the only class of 'cognomina' of whose origin we can be certain, says Emil Hübner in his article on *Römische Epigraphik,* Müller's *Handbuch,* Vol. I, p. 515. Several families are represented thus in the names of our cooks. The 'gens Cornuficia' has 'Eros Cornufi(cianus),' *C. I. L.* VI, 8753; the 'gens Sestia, Photio Sestianus,' *C. I. L.* VI, 8754; and the 'gens Barbia, Hilarus Barbianus,' *C. I. L.* VI, 6247.

The study of the 'gentes' which our cooks represent and by whose members they were freed may be useless. It will be noted, however, that the families represented above are usually the more prominent of the Roman 'gentes.' While members of the more obscure families of course had cooks, it seems probable that they were generally slaves, and that freedmen as cooks usually occur in the more distinguished or imperial families, although they, too, had both slaves and 'liberti.' It is probable that prominent families had more skilled cooks, men who for this reason were better able to purchase or win their freedom.

Additional Observations on Names

Cooks' names with few exceptions are originally Greek names. Of course, when the cook was a 'libertus,' his 'nomen' and 'praenomen' are Roman, but his 'cognomen,' which shows his original name, was nearly always Greek. Latin 'cognomina' are 'Domesticus, Faustus, Felix, Optatus, Primitivus,' and 'Tuscus.' All the rest are Greek. In cases where the cook was a slave, hence had only one name, 'Firmus' and 'Santra?' are the only Latin ones. The 'cognomina' of cooks as we find them in inscriptions may be classed under three or four heads:

1. Those which may indicate nationality—Antiochus, Bithus, Lugius, Tuscus;

2. Those which show whence the cook was procured—Barbianus, Cornufic(ianus), Sestianus;

3. Those which seem to refer to the cooks' occupation or character—Domesticus, Faustus, Felix, Optatus, and Primitivus;

4. Other cognomina, Eros, Epaphroditus.

In *C. I. L.* VI, 33838, we find a cook Gaius Iulius Eros, a 'libertus' of Polybius. Gaius Iulius Polybius is a common name at Pompeii. It occurs in *C. I. L.* IV, 108, 133, 146, 523, 909, 316, 94, 99, 113, 121, 132, 134, 147, 271, 429, 699, 875, 886, 973, 1050, 1226, 258, 1060.

It is possible that this cook was freed in Pompeii by his master, and, after gaining his freedom traveled to Rome, took up his abode there and died there.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF COOKS

As a rule cooks in ancient Rome appear to have the same general characteristics as their more or less direct prototypes in Greek Comedy. This is what we should naturally expect in Plautus, for while there were no doubt professional cooks in Rome in his day, and while he to a certain extent described the members of this calling as he saw them in his own city, it is no less certainly true, that in this as in all else he drew largely on his Greek originals.

As depicted in comedy, Greek cooks were boastful. Rankin in the work previously cited, p. 77, says that along with the physicians of ancient times, the *μάγειρος*, appears to have been the *ἀλαζών* 'par excellence.' He boasts of skill in many sciences besides his own, namely, astronomy, military tactics, architecture, geometry, painting, and medicine; and says that the training in his own art is not a matter of two short years, but of a lifetime. He boasts, too, of his ability to please men of all nationalities, and claims to study not only the tastes but also the temperaments of his guests. One member of the profession, Athenaeus, IV, 169, d, makes this claim for his skill that when sojourning in Italy he learned to cook with such dexterity that at times he made all the guests eagerly lay hold of the dishes with their teeth. Athenaeus, VII, 290, c, quotes another as saying, 'When men return from funerals I take the lids from my saucepans, and the weeping partakers thereof I clothe with smiling faces. I have known many who because of me have eaten their whole estates.' That the Greek cook was thievish is shown by the speech of a cook to his pupils in Dionysius's drama *Ὁμώνυμοι*, quoted Athenaeus, IX, 381, d, 'For,' says he, 'They'll count the joints they give you, and they'll watch you.'

Many other passages might be cited to show the rivalry among members of the profession, the pride in their art, and the respect considered due it, for one claims that civilization arose from *μαγειρικὴ τέχνη*, M., iv, 557; K., iii, 369. Other qualities which Greek cooks possessed were ingenuity, wit, ability to adapt themselves to various situations, curiosity, and skill in the preparation of special dishes; but as we are concerned chiefly with Roman cooks, what has been said about their prototypes will be sufficient. For fuller details on this point, consult Rankin in the work previously cited, especially chapter xi, *Characteristics of the* Μάγειροι·

Let us consider now the qualities which Roman cooks possessed. As in Greek culinary artists, the boastful tendency is still found. Ballio, *Pseudolus*, 790 ff. sums up the characteristics of members of this profession as follows:

Forum coquinum qui vocant, stulte vocant:
Nam non coquinumst, verum furinumst forum.
Nam ego si iuratus peiorem hominem quaererem
Coqum non potui quam hunc quem duco ducere
Multilocum, gloriosum, insulsum, inutilem.
Quin ob eam rem Orcus recipere ad se hunc noluit,
Ut esset hic qui mortui cenam coquat;

Here we find 'gloriosum' one of the prominent characteristics. The cook lives up to his reputation, 828 ff., when he says,

Audacter dicito;
Nam vel ducenos annos poterunt vivere
Meas qui essitabunt escas quas condivero.
Nam ego cocilendrum quando in patinas indidi
Aut cepolendrum aut maccidem aut saucaptidem,
Eaepsae sese patinae fervefaciunt ilico.

In 840 ff. he boasts that Jupiter himself sups on the odors from his saucepans, and that when he does not cook the king of gods goes to bed hungry.

Ubi omnes patinae fervont, omnis aperio:
Is odos dimissis pedibus in caelum volat.
Eum odorem cenat Juppiter cottidie.

Ballio remarks scornfully, 845,

Si nusquam is coctum, quidnam cenat Iuppiter?

The cooks' replies,

It incenatus cubitum.

Lines 848 and 849 also show his full appreciation of his own merit;

Fateor equidem esse me coquom carissumum;
Verum pro pretio facio ut opera adpareat
Mea quo conductus venio.

That his employer is not so confident of getting value received is the implication of his reply,

Ad furandum quidem.

Lines 868 ff. this same cook continues his boastful strain, and proudly displays his knowledge of Greek mythology,

Quia sorbitione faciam ego hodie te mea,
Item ut Medea Peliam concoxit senem,
Quem medicamento et suis venenis dicitur
Fecisse rursus ex sene adulescentulum,
Item ego te faciam.

Again, 881 ff., he boasts of his skill in his art,

Nam ego ita convivis cenam conditam dabo
Hodie atque ita suavi suavitate condiam:
Ut quisque quidque conditum gustaverit,
Ipsus sibi faciam ut digitos praerodat suos.

We may be sure that cooks boasted in later times also, especially when we recall the treatment which they received at the hands of gourmands, who for some special service rendered their palates, permitted the cook to enter the festive halls, allowed him to mimic the tragic actor Ephesus, and to offer a bet to his master that the greens would win at the next show in the circus, cf. Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 70.

The thievish propensities of cooks are emphasized even more in Plautus than in Greek literature. As has been said, Ballio, *Pseudolus,* 790, affirms that the 'forum coquinum' should be called the market of thieves instead. In the same play, 851, the cook admits that stealing is a fault common to men of his calling,

> An tu invenire postulas quemquam coquom
> Nisi milvinis aut aquilinis ungulis?

Their employers were fully conscious of this defect in their character, hence took every possible precaution in order to guard themselves against it. *Pseudolus,* 855 ff., Ballio gives his boy orders for keeping a sharp watch on the cook,

> Nunc adeo tu, qui meus es, iam edico tibi
> Ut nostra properes amoliri hinc omnia,
> Tum ut huius oculos in oculis habeas tuis:
> Quoquo hic spectabit, eo tu spectato simul;
> Si quo hic gradietur, pariter (tu) progredimino;
> Manum si protollet, pariter proferto manum:
> Suum siquid sumet, id tu sinito sumere;
> Si nostrum sumet, tu teneto altrinsecus.
> Si iste ibit, ito: stabit, astato simul;
> Si conquiniscet istic, conquiniscito.
> Item his discipulis privos custodes dabo.

Note also *Aulularia,* 363-370. Even the closest watching was not a safeguard against such clever rogues, according to the words of Euclio, *Aulularia,* 551 ff.,

Mihi omnis angulos
Furum implevisti in aedibus misero mihi;
Qui mi intromisti in aedibus quingentos cocos
Cum senis manibus genere Geryonaceo;
Quos si Argus servet, qui oculeus totus fuit,
Quem quondam Iovi Iuno custodem addidit,
Is numquam servet.

This, however, must be regarded as an exaggerated statement of the case by a miser who thought that everyone was looking for his precious gold. In *Aulularia,* 344 and 345, the only conditions are given under which a cook could refrain from stealing:

Quod te scio
Facile abstinere posse, si nil obviamst.

In the houses of the wealthy, however,

Si perierit quippiam,
Dicant, coqui abstulerunt; comprehendite,
Vincite, verberate, in puteum condite.
Horum tibi istic nil eveniet; quippe qui
Ubi quid subripias, nil est.

The words of the cook in the *Mercator* indicate that in ancient days as well as in modern times food from an employer's pantry often found its way to the cook's larder, *Mercator,* 741 ff.,

Agite ite actutum, nam mihi amatori seni
Coquendast cena: Atque, quom recogito,
Nobis coquendast, non quoi conducti sumus,
Nam qui amat quod amat si habet, id habet pro cibo.
Sed nos confido onustos redituros domum.

Cooks in Plautus were not the only ones who went home loaded, according to a story which is told by Apuleius, *Metamorphoses,* x, 13. The unfortunate Lucius, in the form of a donkey, has

the good luck to become the property of two brothers who are the slaves of a wealthy personage. One was a 'pistor dulciarius' who made bread and sweetmeats, the other a cook who dressed rich stews, which were seasoned with the relishing juices of pounded herbs and aromatics. 'In the evening,' says Lucius, 'after the supper, which was always on a magnificent scale, my masters were in the habit of bringing home to their little room numerous fragments that were left. The one brought large quantities of roast pig, chickens, fish, and other delicate dishes; the other brought bread, pastry, sugar plums, hook cakes, lizard cakes, and many kinds of honied sweetmeats.' When his masters were not present, Lucius feasted upon these dainties. Since the thievish cooks did not suppose that a donkey relished food of this kind, naturally each suspected the other of stealing his booty.

Besides taking large quantities of food to their homes, the host of cooks in the kitchen probably enjoyed samples, the result of their own skill, before passing them on to the guests. Compare the passage in the *Aulularia,* 363-368, where Pythodicus, the slave who seems to be in charge of the cooks says,

Ego intervisam quid faciant coqui:
Quos pol ut ego hodie servem cura maxumast.
Nisi unum hoc faciam, ut in puteo cenam coquant:
Inde coctam sursum subducemus corbulis.
Si autem deorsum comedent, siquid coxerint,
Superi incenati sunt, et cenati inferi.

Ausonius, *Ephemeris,* vi, *Locus Ordinandi Coqui,* describes the gentle pleasure with which the cook tastes the plates of his own making,

An vegeto madeant condita opsonia gustu
(Fallere namque solent) experiundo proba.
Concute ferventes palmis volventibus ollas,
Tinge celer digitos iure calente tuos
Vibranti lambat quos umida lingua recursu.

However, a Pompeian 'graffito' paints the cook's condition under colors less favorable, for it says, *C. I. L.* IV, 1896,

Ubi perna cocta est si convivae apponitur
Non gustat pernam. Lingit ollam aut caccabum.

Another evidence that cooks were thieves is found in Plautus, *Casina,* 720 ff. Olympio calls the cook's assistants briars. Citrio, the cook, replies,

Qui vero hi sunt sentis?

Olympio says,

Quia quod tetigere, ilico rapiunt; si eas ereptum, ilico scindunt.
Ita quoquo adveniunt, ubi sunt duplici damno dominos multant.

Not only did cooks steal, but their patron goddess even was Laverna, the goddess of thieves, for in Plautus, *Aulularia,* 445, Congrio says,

Ita me bene amet Laverna.

Paulus ex Festo, De Ponor under 'Laverniones' tells us, 'Laverniones fures antiqui dicebant, quod sub tutela deae Lavernae essent.' The only story that we have of an honest cook is the one told by Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei,* XXII, 8. A certain cook 'Cattosus' found an 'anulum aureum in ventriculo piscis, miseratione flexus et religione perterritus homini eum reddidit' who sold him the fish.

C. I. L. VI, 49, gives a characteristic which cooks should possess. Whether they really conformed to this fitting standard is another question.

Bacchum et Sylenum sobrios vides
Sic cocum decet.

In Greek Comedy, scenes which were composed of the jests of cooks were frequently introduced. These were similar to

Pseudolus, III, 2. Athenaeus, XIV, 659, says, *μάλιστα γὰρ εἰσάγονται* (sc. *ἐν τῇ νέᾳ κωμωδίᾳ*) *οἱ μάγειροι σκωπτικοί τινες.* Roman cooks also were fond of jokes, and somewhat given to puns. In Plautus, *Mercator,* 748 ff., the cook, who has been hired by Lysimachus to dress a dinner for his sweetheart, meets the old gentleman on the street, with his wife, and thoroughly enjoys the discomfiture to which he puts him, as he slyly reveals the situation to the jealous wife: that her husband had employed him to prepare a dinner for another woman, that he had said that his wife, whom he loathed as a serpent, was in the country. The old man is at his wits' end and can only say, 762,

> Ita me amabit Iuppiter,
> Uxor, ut ego illud numquam deixi.

In line 768 the cook slyly remarks,

> Nisi metuis tu istanc.

In the *Menaechmi,* 220, Cylindrus is directed to buy provisions for three guests. He inquires who they are, and on being told that one is a parasite, he replies,

> Iam isti sunt decem
> Nam parasitus octo hominum munus facile fungitur.

Note also *Aulularia,* 280, where for the sake of a pun the cook perhaps wilfully misunderstands,

> Strobilus—Postquam obsonavit erus et conduxit coquos,
> Tibicinasque hasce, apud forum, edixit mihi,
> Ut dispertirem obsonium hic bifariam

Anthrax the cook replies,

> Me quidem Hercle dicam palam non divides.
> Siquo tu totum me ire vis, operam dabo.

Congrio, *Aulularia,* 325 calls his colleagues in the culinary art a man of three letters,

Tun trium litterarum homo me vituperas? fur.

In *Aulularia,* 413, even under trying circumstances, Congrio has enough sense of humor left to play on the word 'ligna,' as meaning logs for his fire, rather than blows for his back,

Neque ligna ego usquam gentium praeberi vidi pulcrius,
Itaque omnis exegit foras me atque hos onustos fustibus.

When the cook in the *Miles Gloriosus,* Act V, is called in with his knife to settle the fate of the boastful soldier, he enters heartily into the grim humor of the situation, and when advised to see that his knife is sharp, replies, 1398,

Quin iam dudum gestit moecho hoc abdomen adimere,
Faciam uti quasi puero in collo pendeant crepundia.

It will only be necessary to mention a few of the dishes which cooks were credited with concocting, in order to prove that ingenuity was one of their characteristics. Euphron, M. IV, 494; K. III, 323, tells the story of a cook, Soterides, who deceived a king by his clever cooking. It was winter, and the sea was far away, but the king of Bithynia was seized by a longing for anchovies. Soterides therefore prepared and cooked turnips in such a way as to imitate the desired dainties, and so quenched the king's passion for fish. There were Roman cooks also who were equally skilled, and when we read of some of their dishes, we do not wonder that Seneca blamed them for most of the maladies from which the rich Romans suffered. He says, *Epistulae ad Lucilium,* 95, 23, 'Innumerabiles esse morbos non miraberis: cocos numera.' Martial, XI, 31, speaks of a cook who prepared gourds so ingeniously that you would fancy you saw lentils and beans on the table. Moreover, from them he created sausages, fish, mushrooms, and many other things. Trimalchio, Petronius, *Cena,* 70, named his cook Daedalus because he was such a wonder worker in the art of dressing and transforming foods. 'Cocks and pheasants and such bagatelles,' says Trimalchio, 47, 'are jobs for country-

bred cooks. Mine are in the habit of sending a calf boiled whole to the table.' One of his cooks dressed a whole boar, in a remarkably short time, for his master's banquet, and stuffed it with puddings and sausages, *Cena,* 49. When another pig which had been roasted in the same kitchen was carved, thrushes flew out about the dining room. One dish which was served on Trimalchio's table looked at first sight like a fat goose surrounded by fish and fowls of all sorts, but the master declared, 'My cook has made all this out of a pig . . . he will make you a fish from the paunch, a wood pigeon from the fat bacon, a turtle dove from the gammon, and a fowl from the shoulder.' Many of the stories in Petronius are, no doubt, fanciful; yet we have only to read the work of Apicius, and the recipes in Martial, to be convinced that Roman cooks were quite capable of such feats of ingenuity. In earlier times the tragic actor Aesopus was celebrated for his dish of singing birds which cost him more than a hundred thousand sesterces, Pliny, *N. H.* x, 141; xxxv, 163.

Suetonius, *Vitellius,* XIII, tells of a feast which that emperor gave upon the first use of a dish which had been made for him, which because of its extraordinary size he called The Shield of Minerva. In this wonderful dish there were tossed together the livers of fish, the brains of pheasants and peacocks, with the tongues of flamingoes, and the entrails of lampreys, which had been brought in ships of war as far as from the Carpathian Sea. Certainly no one would accuse of lack of imagination a cook who could conceive of or compound such a mixture. Many other strange dishes might be described, but this is not the place to discuss the cookery of the Romans. At some later time I hope to work up carefully the whole subject of Roman dishes. At present just a few have been mentioned, to show that ingenuity must have been one of the characteristics of the Roman cook.

Noise and turmoil often reigned supreme in the kitchen, and cooks were frequently inclined to quarrel about their respective merits. In the *Aulularia,* 403, Congrio says,

Sed quid hoc clamoris oritur hinc ex proxumo?
Coqui hercle, credo, faciunt officium suom.
Fugiam intro, ne quid turbae hic itidem fuat.

In the same play, 324 f., the two cooks get into a dispute and Anthrax says of Congrio,

Coquos ille nundinalist, in nonum diem
Solet ire coctum.

Congrio replies,

Tun, trium litterarum homo,
Me vituperas? fur.

Anthrax retorts,

Etiam fur, trifurcifer.

We have seen already how the cook in the *Pseudolus,* 808 ff., disparages other members of his calling. Not only did cooks quarrel among themselves, but they seemed to enjoy creating a domestic disturbance of any kind. Compare the scene in the *Casina,* 759 ff., where they overturn the kettles and pour water on the fire to keep the old man from having his dinner. In the *Pseudolus,* 889, Ballio chides the cook whom he has hired for his prating and says,

Molestus ne sis; nimium iam tinnis; tace.

If, then, we conjure up a mental image of the average Roman cook, we get anything but an attractive personage. He was a noisy, prating, impertinent, old fellow, probably fat with feeding on stolen dainties from his master's provisions. His face was covered with smut, his locks polluted with greasy soot, and his clothes steeped in the odor of the kitchen. This disagreeable feature seems to have been almost proverbial as the passage in Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 2 shows: 'Qui inter haec nutriuntur non magis sapere possunt, quam bene olere qui in

culina habitant.' At his side or in his hand was the ever-present knife. There were, however, occasional exceptions when his appearance was more pleasing, for Martial, XII, 64, tells us that Cinna appointed as cook one of his rosy attendants who surpassed all others in beauty of features and hair, and again, X, 66, he mentions a handsome youth, Theopompus, who became a cook.

While many of the characteristics of Greek and Roman cooks are the same, although the latter is boastful, he does not have the same respect for his art that the former did, and it is probable that cooking was always regarded as a more menial calling in Rome than in Greece.

CHAPTER VII

THE COST OF COOKS

Before the days of Plautus the cost of cooks was probably a matter of very little importance even in the homes of the wealthier Romans. As has been already said, up to that time the daily cooking was usually done by the 'matronae' or the ordinary slaves, and the cook was, as Livy puts it, 'vilissimum mancipium.' Even in the time of Plautus, if we can trust his plays, when a professional cook was hired from the 'macellum' for the preparation of an entertainment, the price paid him was abnormally small. This seems especially true when we remember that he brought with him his assistants and the necessary kitchen utensils. Reference is made to the latter *Aulularia,* 445, where the cook says,

Ita me bene Laverna (uti) te iam nisi reddi
Mihi vasa iubes, pipulo te hic differam ante aedis.

Mercator, 781, the cook, when leaving, says,

Haec vassa aut mox aut cras iubebo abs te peti.

In Plautus the regular price paid a professional cook for the preparation of an entertainment was a drachma. In the *Mercator,* 777, the cook demands his pay, saying, 'Give me a drachma.' The passage following this seems to indicate that it was not always an easy matter for a cook to collect what was due him, and that he accepted no promises but cash alone, for he refuses to be off until he receives his money. *Pseudolus,* 808 ff.,also shows that the price paid to the average cook was a drachma, but that there were special artists in the profession who valued their services more highly and who charged a 'nummus.' Ramsay, in his edition of the *Mostellaria* of Plau-

tus, p. 247, proves that this term is almost always used by that author to mean a didrachma. Ballio, *Pseudolus,* 800, asks the cook whom he has just hired from the 'forum coquinum' why he was left sitting there so long; if, as he claims, he is an expert. The cook replies that this is due to man's avarice, not to his lack of genius. He says, 804 ff.,

> Quom extemplo veniunt conductum coquom
> Nemo illum quaerit qui optumus et carissumust;
> Illum conducunt potius qui vilissumust.
> Hoc ego fui hodie solus obsessor fori.
> Illi drachumissent miseri: me nemo potest
> Minoris quisquam nummo ut surgam subigere.
> Non ego item cenam condio ut alii coqui,
> Qui mihi condita prata in patinis proferunt,
> Boves qui convivas faciunt herbasque oggerunt,
> Eas herbas herbis aliis porro condiunt.

This same cook's pay is mentioned again in line 847, where Ballio says,

> I in malam crucem.
> Istacine caussa tibi hodie nummum dabo?

The cook replies,

> Fateor equidem esse me coquom carissumum;
> Verum pro pretio facio ut opera appareat
> Mea quo conductus venio.

Ballio's next remark may explain in part why the hire of a cook was so cheap, for even if you place the purchasing power of a drachma or a didrachma at the highest limit possible, it still seems a rather small sum to pay for the preparation of a dinner. Ballio's words, however, *Pseudolus,* 850, 'Ad furandum quidem,' imply that this regular stipend was supplemented by purloining on the part of the cook of anything he could lay his hands on. The cook's retort, 851, suggests the same idea, for he says,

An tu invenire postulas quemquam coquom
Nisi milvinis aut aquilinis ungulis?

It was true, no doubt, that then as well as in later times the cook took away from his employer's house much more than the actual money paid for his services. Compare Martial, XIII, 52: 'Let a duck be brought to the table whole, but only the breast and the neck are worth eating. Return the rest to the cook.' The amount paid a cook is stated again *Aulularia,* 448, where Congrio the cook, who has been severely cudgeled by the old miser, observes,

Nummo sum conductus; plus iam medico mercedist opus.

Aulularia, 309 indicates that cooks sometimes received from their patrons additional compensation besides their regular pay, for Anthrax says,

Censen talentum magnum exorari potis
Ab istoc sene, ut det qui fiamus liberi?

There is, then, in Plautus sufficient evidence to show that a cook was paid a drachma, or at most a didrachma for the preparation of a dinner or entertainment. To settle the exact purchasing value of this amount is a more difficult question. William Ramsay, *Mostellaria,* 241 ff., in the article on *Terms Employed With Reference to Money,* gives the clearest explanation of money in Plautus. He says, 'In the works of the Latin dramatists all computations in Greek money must be referred to the Attic standard and wherever moderate sums are named we shall not commit any grave error if we consider the value of the Attic drachma = 9 d. sterling.' We know that there was a close relation between the Greek drachma and the Roman 'denarius' and Friedrich Hultsch in his *Griechische und Römische Metrologie,* p. 149, says that in later times in Rome instead of the 'drachma wurde der Denar gebraucht und der Name Drachme auf diesen übertragen.'

It was just after the war with Antiochus, as we have seen, Livy, XXXIX, 6, that 'coquus vilissimum mancipium et aestima-

tione et usu in pretio esse.' After this time interesting stories are found of the amount paid for cooks, and of the valuable presents made them as a reward for tickling the palate of their master or employer. Plutarch, *Antony,* XXIV, says that Antony presented to his cook the house of a citizen of Magnesia. In Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 50, 'nec non cocus potione honoratus est, et argentea corona, poculumque in lance accepit Corinthia' for a happy device which met with the approval of his master. Again, in paragraph 70 of the same work, Trimalchio says that since his cook Daedalus is a clever fellow he brought him from Rome a present of Noric steel. Cato is quoted by Aulus Gellius, XI, 2, 5, as saying that 'Equos carius, quam coquos emebant,' but the price of cooks soon outgrew this limit. In the time of the first Roman emperors, when the pleasures of the table were carried to the extreme, we find enormous prices paid for cooks. Porphyrion, commenting on Horace, *Satires,* I, 1, 101, says that 'Cassius Nomentanus, adeo sine respectu calculorum suorum prodigus ut sestertium septuagies gulae ac libidini impenderit. Huius libertum, Damam nomine, cocum Sallustius Crispus historiarum scriptor fertur centenis milibus annuis conductum habuisse.' Compare with this the statement of Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum,* 85, 39, who makes Marius say that he is called stingy and 'incultus moribus' because he has no cook who is of greater value than a 'vilicus.' 'Sordidum me et incultus moribus aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris preti cocum quam vilicum habeo.'

Even in Varro's day skilled bakers were purchased at a great price, as one sees from a fragment of his satire *περὶ ἐδεσμάτων*, Aulus Gellius, XV, 19, 'Si quantum operae sumpsisti, ut tuus pistor bonum faceret panem, eius duodecimam philosophiae dedisses, ipse bonus iampridem esses factus. Nunc illum qui norunt volunt emere milibus centum, te qui novit nemo centussis.'

Pliny, *N. H.* IX, 67, makes an interesting commentary on the rise in the value of cooks and the increase in luxury in Imperial times. He says that Asinius Celer, a man of consular

rank, bought a fish in Rome during the reign of Caligula for which he paid 8,000 sesterces. A reflection, says he, upon such a fact as this will at once lead us to turn our thoughts to those who, making loud complaints against luxury, used to lament that a single cook cost more than a horse, while at the present day a cook is only to be obtained for the same sum that a triumph would cost, and a fish is only to be purchased at what was formerly the price of a cook. Indeed, there is hardly anyone held in higher esteem than the man who understands how in the most scientific fashion to get rid of his master's property.

Juvenal, *Satires,* VII, 184 ff., implies that the cook was considered of more importance for a household than, and was procured at the expense of, a son's education, for he says,

> Quanticumque domus, veniet qui fercula docte
> Conponat, veniet qui pulmentaria condit.
> Hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano,
> Ut multum, duo sufficient; res nulla minoris
> Constabit patri quam filius.

In later days Tertullian, *De Anima,* 33, speaks of 'cocos pretiosissimos,' and Hieronymus, *Epistulae,* 100, 6, 5 reads 'magni pretii cocos.'

After Plautus it is difficult to tell the exact cost of cooks in later generations. A brief glance at a few of the successive sumptuary laws of the Romans, which endeavored to regulate the expenses of the table, will give us some idea of the way in which luxury and high living constantly grew, and consequently of the gradual increase in the cost and value of cooks, although they are not mentioned in these laws. The 'lex Orchia,' Macrobius, *Saturn.* III, 17, 2, 181 B. C., was perhaps the earliest of these laws, and regulated the number of guests. The Fannian law, Macrobius, *Saturn.* III, 17, 4 ff., Aulus Gellius, II, 24, 161 B. C., fixed the maximum expenditure for a dinner on festal days at one hundred asses. On other days the amount to be expended was set at a limit of thirty asses for ten days of the month, and ten asses for the rest. It forbade having more than five guests on market days, and more than three other days.

It prohibited the serving of any fowl at repasts except a hen, and this was not to be fattened.

The luxury of the day soon outgrew this law, and the need for a new regulation made itself felt. Consequently eighteen years after the Fannian law the 'lex Didia' was passed, Macrobius, *Saturn.* III, 17, 6. This extended the regulations of the previous law to the whole of Italy, whereas the Italians claimed that it had applied previously to Rome alone.

In 107 B. C. the 'lex Licinia' followed, Macrobius, *Saturn.* III, 17, 8; Aulus Gellius, II, 24, 7. It fixed the expense of a repast at one hundred asses for festal days and days of public ceremonies, at two hundred asses for wedding feasts, and at thirty asses for ordinary days. It limited to three pounds the amount of meat to be consumed daily.

By the 'lex Cornelia,' Macrobius, *Saturn.* III, 17, 11, Sulla placed a limit of three sesterces on the expenditure for the table for usual days, but allowed this to be stretched to thirty for the Nones, the Ides and the Kalends, and also for feast days. He set a high price on the dainties which gourmands particularly desired. Even the originator of this law violated it.

Luxurious living was the vogue in the time of Lucullus. This tendency explains the multitude of sumptuary laws in his day, but luxury increased just as the number of laws designed to restrain it did. Sulla's law had discouraged so little the sale of taxed foods that a little after 79 B. C. the 'lex Aemilia,' Aulus Gellius, II, 24, 12, endeavored to regulate not only the price, but the kind of food and the manner of its preparation. This law, as well as the 'lex Antia' which followed it, was not observed, consequently the would-be reformers relaxed their efforts somewhat, and luxury continued its ravages undisturbed until the time of Julius Cæsar.

By the 'lex Iulia,' Aulus Gellius, II, 24, 14, he fixed the maximum expenditure for the table at two hundred sesterces for ordinary days, and at three hundred for feast days. For the wedding feast, and the one on the following day one thousand sesterces might be spent. Cæsar placed guards in the markets who were charged with the execution of his law.

Under Augustus or Tiberius, according to Aulus Gellius, II, 24, 15, there was another sumptuary law. By this the cost of a dinner was not to exceed two hundred sesterces on ordinary days. It was limited to three hundred sesterces for certain feast days, and could even reach two thousand for wedding celebrations and anniversaries.

Under Tiberius extravagance with regard to the table continued to assume unheard of proportions, and sumptuary laws were not observed. The aediles appealed to the senate, and the senate referred the matter to the emperor, Tacitus, *Annales,* III, 52 ff. In his response Tiberius showed that he was very sceptical about the efficacy of such regulations.

This is not the place to discuss the ineffectiveness of Roman as of all sumptuary laws. A few have been cited merely to show the continuous increase, in successive generations, of the amount spent upon the table, and also to indicate how the value of skilled cooks must have risen in a world where high-living played such a large part that successive laws were considered necessary in order to keep it down even a little.[1] These very laws made the expert 'chef' a most important personage, for when there was a tax on certain foods the cook would be valued greatly who could dress other dishes so as to resemble the forbidden dainties. This was one of the special accomplishments both of Greek and Roman cooks. Compare the story told of Soterides in Euphron, Meineke, IV, 494; Kock, III, 323, who deceived a king with his imitation of anchovies at a time when the king was not able to secure them. Martial, XI, 31, tells the story of a cook who metamorphosed gourds in such a way that you would fancy you saw lentils, beans, mushrooms, sausages, and tails of tunnies and anchovies on the table. Thus he filled his dishes and side dishes, and congratulated himself on his skill in furnishing so many dishes at the cost of a penny. Compare also Cicero, *Ad Familiares,* VII, 26.

[1] For Roman sumptuary laws I consulted particularly a dissertation by Charles Bauthian, *Droit Romain, le Luxe et les Lois Somptuaires,* Paris, 1891.

CHAPTER VIII

THE 'MACELLUM'

If we are correct in saying that the Romans hired their cooks for special entertainments as did the Greeks, there must necessarily have been in Rome as in Athens some definite place where these artists could be found when their services were desired. For the haunts of Greek cooks, cf. Rankin, work previously cited, pp. 42 ff. As has been already stated, Pliny, *N. H.* xviii, 108, tells us that the early Romans hired their cooks from the 'macellum.' Plautus, too, in several passages in his plays, speaks of hiring cooks for entertainments, and sometimes he tells us where they were procured. In the *Aulularia,* 280, Strobilus, a slave, says:

> Postquam obsonavit erus, et conduxit coquos
> Tibicinasque hasce apud forum.

Mercator, 697, Lysimachus says,

> Egomet conduxi coquom,
> Sed eum demiror non venire ut iusseram.

In the *Pseudolus,* 790 ff., Ballio, returning home with his cooks, says:

> Forum coquinum qui vocant, stulte vocant
> Nam non coquinumst, verum furinumst forum.

Compare also the words of the cook 798,

> Si me arbitrabare isto pacto ut praedicas
> Cur conducebas?

And Ballio's reply,

Inopia: alius non erat
Sed cur sedebas in foro, si eras coquos,
Tu solus praeter alios?

In lines 804-806 also, the cook speaks of the custom of hiring members of his profession. The same custom is referred to in Terence, *Eunuchus,* 255:

Dum haec loquimur, interea loci ad macellum ubi adventamus
Concurrunt laeti mihi obviam cuppedinarii omnes;
Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores
Quibus et re salva et perdita profueram.

According, then, to these three authors—Plautus, Terence, and Pliny—professional cooks took their stand in the 'macellum,' and probably waited there with their utensils and their pupils to be hired. They were, as it seems, slaves who were let out by their masters. Plautus, as we have seen, says also that cooks were hired from the 'forum,' but in this case he is perhaps speaking generally and does not designate the special part of the 'forum' from which they were to be obtained. 'Forum coquinum,' *Pseudolus,* 790, is merely another term for 'macellum,' as Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom,* I, 2, 434; and Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom,* Müller's *Handbuch,* III, 3, 2, 310, think. Blümner, Privat-Altertümer, in Müller's *Handbuch,* IV, 2, II, p. 192, suggests that 'forum coquinum' may be merely a translation of the Greek.

Let us now consider what the 'macellum' was, where it was located, why cooks resorted there, and something of its history. It was always a provision-market in which fish, fowls, meat, vegetables, and other edibles could be purchased. As proof of this statement may be quoted Plautus, *Rudens,* 979.

Quippe quom extemplo in macellum pisces prolati sient,
Nemo emat;

Pseudolus, 169,

Ego eo in macellum, ut piscium quidquid ibist pretio praestinem.

and *Aulularia,* 373 ff.,

> Venio ad macellum, rogito pisces; indicant
> Caros: agninam caram, caram bubulam,
> Vitulinam, cetum, porcinam, cara omnia:
> Atque eo fuerunt cariosa aes non erat.

Varro, *De Lingua Latina,* v, 146 and 147, says: 'Forum boarium, olitorium, piscarium cuppedinis . . . haec omnia posteaquam contracta in unum locum quae ad victum pertinebant et aedificatus locus, appellatum macellum.' Compare also Horace, *Satires,* II, 3, 229; *Epistulae,* I, 15, 31, 'Pernicies et tempestas barathrumque macelli, quidquid quaesierat ventri donabat avaro'; Martial, x, 59, 'Dives et omni posita est instructa macello cena tibi'; Juvenal, v, 95, and XI, 9,

> Multos porro vides, quos saepe elusus ad ipsum
> Creditor introitum solet expectare macelli,
> Et quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est.

We see, then, that the 'macellum' was a provision-market. Naturally enough the most opportune place for professional cooks to take their stand was where food could be procured, so that the old Roman might at the same time buy food for his party, engage his caterer, and then turn his attention to other matters. This place was the 'macellum,' and here cooks really did resort, according to the witness of Plautus, Terence and Pliny.

The history of the 'macellum' in brief is about as follows: In consequence of the rapid growth of Rome after the downfall of the might of Etruria, the conqueror of the Latins Gaius Maenius, consul 338 B. C., removed the butchers and vegetable dealers from the crowds of tradespeople in the 'forum.' Their place was taken by the nobler trade of the money-changers. Many of the passages in Plautus which refer to the 'forum' mention the money-changers there. In 179 B. C. M. Fulvius Nobilior built a market house, the 'macellum,' into which the different markets were brought together. This structure con-

sisted of an open square surrounded by shops, in the center of which there was a circular structure, the 'tholus.' This 'Macellum Magnum' disappeared in the course of time, to give place to other buildings, the Forum of Peace, as Richter thinks, and after the first century of the Empire we find no mention of it. We may be certain at least that it was situated on the north side of the 'Forum.' Remains of 'macella' which were probably modeled after the Roman are found in Pompeii, Puteoli, and cities of Asia Minor, cf. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche,* p. 161.

CHAPTER IX

THE SOCIAL POSITION OF COOKS AND THE ESTEEM IN WHICH THEY WERE HELD

The profession of cooking, and the cook himself, were regarded with more esteem, and treated with greater respect in Greece than in Rome. In the former country, as we have seen, the cook was never represented as a slave in comedy, with possibly the exception of one author, cf. Rankin, *op. cit.*, in the chapter on *The Social Status of the* Μάγειροι*;* nor have we any other evidence for believing that he was a slave until Macedonian times. The respect with which he was treated, his varied knowledge, and his own pride and respect for his art, the public honors conferred on the *μάγειρος* would lead us to believe that before 300 B. C. he did not occupy a servile position. In the first book of his *History of Attica,* Clidemus, quoted by Athenaeus, XIV, 660, a, says that there was a tribe of cooks who were entitled to public honors, and that it was their business to see that the sacrifice was performed with due regularity. An inscription in Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions,* No. 80, date 404-403 B. C., shows that a cook received the honor of citizenship. After 300 B. C. we have Athenaeus, XIV, 659, a, as witness of changed conditions, and the status of the cook in Greece agrees more nearly with what we find in Rome.

A passage in Plutarch's *Moralia, Quaestiones Romanae,* 284, F, implies that in Rome from the earliest times the act of preparing food was regarded as menial. He says: *Διὰ τί τὰς γυναῖκας οὔτ' ἀλεῖν εἴων, οὔτ' ὀψοποιεῖν τὸ παλαιόν; ἤ, τὰς συνθήκας διαμνημονεύοντες, ἃς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους; ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἥρπασαν τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν εἶτα πολεμήσαντες διηλλάγησαν, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὁμολογίαις καὶ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη, μήτ' ἀλεῖν ἀνδρὶ Ῥωμαίῳ γυναῖκα μήτε μαγειρεύειν.*

In Plautus the cook is always depicted as in a servile condi-

tion. In the *Mostellaria,* 1-5, the cook is not a professional, but one of the common household slaves. In the *Menaechmi* the courtesan Erotium seems to have had a professional cook as a slave. The cook's name in Plautus is always a slave-name, Cario, *Miles,* 1397; Citrio, *Casina,* 744; Congrio, *Aulularia,* 285; and Anthrax, *Aulularia,* 287. Line 310 in the *Aulularia* also shows that the cook was a slave, for he speaks of purchasing his freedom. In the same play, the treatment accorded to members of the culinary profession would indicate a servile condition. Compare *Aulularia,* 409 f., and 344. An early Republican inscription, *C. I. L.* XIV, 2875, gives us the names of four cooks who were slaves.

In early times, then, at Rome, days of plain living and high thinking, the cook was not only a slave, but a slave of low order—'vilissimum mancipium.' Under the Empire in proportion as luxury increased the cook occupied a position more and more important. Several passages may be quoted from Cicero, however, which will show in what esteem he held the calling. In *Pro Roscio,* 134, he says, 'Mitto hasce artes vulgaris, cocos, pistores, lecticarios.' *De Officiis,* I, 42, 150, places cooking among the sordid trades and professions, and those not becoming a gentleman. 'Minimeque artes eae probandae, quae ministrae sunt voluptatum: cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores, ut ait Terentius. Adde huc, si placet, unguentarios, saltatores, totumque ludum talarium.' But even with his disdain for the occupation, Cicero realized that civilized man could not live without cooks, for in a solicitous letter to Tiro, a favorite slave, *Ad Familiares,* XVI, 15, 2, he says, 'I have sent you Aegypta to stay with you, because he is not a bad companion, and with him a cook whom you may find useful.' However, even in Cicero's time the son of a cook could become a person of some importance in the city, and could canvass for an office, as the pun quoted by Quintilian, *Institutiones,* VI, 3, 47, shows. 'Ut dixit (Cicero) cum is candidatus qui coci filius habebatur, coram eo suffragium ab alio peteret; "Ego quoque tibi favebo."'

In Imperial times the cook was both a more important and a more infamous personage according to the point of view from which he is regarded. He is now found both as a 'servus,' and as a 'libertus,' as inscriptions bear witness. Probably there were not many cooks who were 'liberti' until the days of the emperors, but then the increase in salaries which they received and the greater value placed upon their services enabled many either to purchase their freedom from their savings, or to obtain it as a gift for some particularly pleasing service which they rendered to their masters. Inscriptions tell us of cooks who form a part of the imperial household for 'coci ex familia Augusta sunt' in *C. I. L.* vi, 8750-8755, also 7458, and 6069 a. As such they took the names of members of the imperial family. *C. I. L.* vi, 8750, reads, 'T. Aelius Primitivus archimagirus'; and *C. I. L.* vi, 8752, 'Marcus Aurelus Bit(hus) praepositus cocorum.' *C. I. L.* vi, 8751, is on a monument which an 'archimagirus' made for himself and his wives, 'Aelia Agrippina and Iulia Cleopatra.' These imperial cooks formed 'collegia' among themselves of which we shall speak later.

Not only did cooks gain their own freedom under the Empire, but some of them acquired sufficient property to own slaves of their own, as *C. I. L.* vi, 6248, shows: 'Nireus (Ph)ilerotis L. Coci ser(vus).' Some of them may even have changed their calling after securing their freedom, for Martial, viii, 16, says, 'You, Cyperus, who were long a baker, now plead causes and are seeking to gain two hundred thousand sesterces.' Under the Empire, according to Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 70, even the cooks who were slaves seem to have been allowed more privileges than formerly, for Trimalchio's cook is sufficiently important to come into the dining room and not only to recline at the table but to begin to imitate Ephesus the tragedian, and to offer his master a bet that in the next chariot races the greens will win. The treatment of the cook in the *Cena,* however, proves nothing except that he was dependent upon the caprice of his master, for on account of a petty offence he was called into the festal hall, stripped and threatened with a flogging, which he escaped only through the entreaties of the guests. On

another occasion his master threatens to degrade him to the rank of a farm-servant if his work is not done quickly.

In Pliny's time cooks even figured on works of art, for he tells us, *N. H.* xxxiii, 157, of a Pytheas, one of whose works sold at the rate of ten thousand 'denarii' for two ounces. It was a drinking bowl, the figures on which represented Ulysses and Diomedes stealing the Palladium. The same artist also engraved on some small drinking vessels cooks in miniature, of such remarkably fine workmanship that it was quite impossible to take copies of them.

In the time of Heliogabalus, cf. Lampridius, *Heliogabalus,* 10, Zoticus, the son of a Smyrnaean cook, was a very influential man at court, and sold all that the emperor did or said under false pretences, hoping for boundless wealth. He used to threaten one man, lavish promises on another, and deceive them all. He would tell each singly, I said this of you, or heard that of you, or your fate will be this or that.

Perhaps, however, the most important evidence we have of the position which it was possible for a cook to occupy, and the amount of property which as a 'libertus' he might acquire, is found in an inscription from Alba Fucens, *C. I. L.* ix, 3938. It reads, 'Halicius Marcio Fausto liberto, Sevir. Aug., Dendroforo Albensi et Trophime matri.' On the sides of the pedestal on which this inscription is found are the words 'coco optimo.'

The 'seviri Augustales' were boards composed of important men in municipal towns. They occupied a rank between the 'decuriones' and the citizens. The post of the sevirate was conferred by the town senate or council. Six members were appointed yearly to maintain the cult of the emperor worship, hence they were called 'Augustales.' They had to pay fixed sums on their election to office. On the numerous days consecrated to the cult of the emperor the 'seviri' had to bring offerings, and to manage or arrange the festivities, hence the duties which their office entailed often involved a heavy expenditure of money. Sometimes, however, 'honoris causa,' the initiatory fees were remitted, as in a case mentioned in Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 71. During their term of office they wore gold

rings and a 'toga praetexta.' The right of wearing the former was not extended beyond the year of office, but the official robe might be used at the feasts of the emperor even after the termination of this period. They were allowed two lictors, and the right of using the 'bisellium' during the year of office, and were also given a place of honor at the games and in processions. They are found only in one author, Petronius, but the numerous honorary and sepulchral inscriptions devoted to them, give us many facts concerning their order. On one the insignia of the 'decuriones' were bestowed, for another the admission fee to the sevirate was remitted, a third had the title of the first of the 'Augustales.' The 'Augustales' were for the most part 'liberti,' especially tradesmen and artisans, craftsmen and merchants, who had amassed a considerable fortune by their business, and who, by their generosity to the people, endeavored to surpass in popularity and influence even the 'decuriones.'

Petronius gives us an interesting picture of a 'Sevir Augustalis' in his *Cena Trimalchionis.* Trimalchio, a wealthy freedman, held this position in Puteoli. Of his riches we may judge by the elaborate banquet which he gave, of the importance which he attached to the office of 'sevir Augustalis' by the directions which he left for the erection of his tomb. He wished to be represented as sitting on a judicial bench, in magistrate's dress, with five gold rings, and scattering bounty among the people. 'For you know,' he says, 'I gave a public banquet and a gift of two shillings to everyone.' He wished the inscription on his tomb to say, 'Gaius Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus lies here. He could have been in any decury in Rome, but preferred not to be. Devout, courageous and loyal, he started with small means and left a quarter of a million, and never listened to a philosopher. Peace to his ashes and peace to thee.' The above is taken from Lowe's translation of the *Cena Trimalchionis,* 72.

What we have said about the office of 'Sevir Augustalis' [1] is

[1] For 'Seviri Augustales' see Friedländer, *Petronius,* Introduction, pp. 36 ff.; De Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico,* under 'Augustales'; Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines* under 'Augus-

sufficient to indicate to what a prominent position our cook 'Marcius Faustus,' *C. I. L.* IX, 3938, had risen.

Because of the eminence to which cooks were raised by luxurious emperors and gourmands, the Romans of the more abstemious class, who sighed for the simplicity of early Roman times, protested. Seneca particularly wrote against all ministers of luxury. He says, *Epistulae ad Lucilium,* 88, 18, 'Non enim adducor ut in numerum liberalium artium pictores recipiam, non magis quam statuarios aut marmorarios, aut ceteros luxuriae ministros, aeque luctatores et totam oleo ac luto constantem scientiam expello ex his studiis liberalibus; aut et unguentarios recipiam, et cocos, et ceteros voluptatibus nostris ingenia accomodantes sua.' He characterizes the cook again in Epist. ad Lucilium, 87, 17, 'Qui non est vir bonus potest nihilominus medicus esse, potest gubernator, potest grammaticus, tam me hercules quam cocus.' Like Plato, *Gorgias,* 500 B, and E, he associated cooks with doctors, or at least with diseases. Compare also Isidorus, *Sententiae,* II, 42, 10, 'Omnes animae virtutes edacitatis vitio destruuntur. Inde est, quod et princeps coquorum muros Jerusalem subvertit; quia et venter cui servitur a coquis, virtutes animae destruit.'

As has already been said, cooks were both 'servi' and 'liberti.' Inscriptions give examples of both classes. *C. I. L.* XIV, 2875, records a 'collegium' of 'coques atrienses' of Republican times of which the 'magistri' were four slaves. It is expressly stated that the cook was a slave in *C. I. L.* VI, 6246, 'Eros cocus Posidippi ser(vus) hic situs est'; *C. I. L.* VI, 8754, 'D. M. Photioni Cæsaris N. servo coco Sestiano Fabia Iulia fratri. B. M. F.'; *C. I. L.* VI, 9264, 'Alexandr L. Aemili Eronis ser. cocus.' The name indicates that he was a slave. *C. I. L.* VI, 6249 'Zena cocus'; *C. I. L.* VI, 5197, 'Firmus cocus, Tasus cocus'; *C. I. L.* VI, 7602, 'Acas(tus) cocus'; *C. I. L.* VI, 8753, 'Eros Cornufi.'; *C. I. L.* VI, 8755, 'Zethus

tales'; Pauly-Wissowa. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* under the same word and pp. 51 ff., in *The Cults of Ostia,* a dissertation by Lily Ross Taylor, Bryn Mawr, 1912.

cocus'; *C. I. L.* vi, 9265, 'Apollonius cocus'; *C. I. L.* vi, 9266, 'Arax. cocus'; *C. I. L.* vi, 9267, 'Hermae coco'; *C. I. L.* vi, 9268, 'Philargurus cocus'; *C. I. L.* vi, 9269, 'Tyrannus cocus'; *C. I. L.* iv, 6283, 'Aprilis coctor.'

The 'magistri' of the 'collegium' of cooks mentioned in *C. I. L.* xi, 3078, are two 'ingenii.' In the following inscriptions the cooks are 'liberti': *C. I. L.* v, 2544, 'M. Valerius Bucinae L. Optatus cocus'; *C. I. L.* vi, 7433, 'Caecili P. L. Felicis coci'; *C. I. L.* vi, 9262, 'D. M. S. Valeriae Epicone coniugi B. M. F. Ael. Ephroditus scriba cocorum'; *C. I. L.* vi, 9263, 'Adrastus libertus cocus'; *C. I. L.* vi, 9270, 'M. Fuficius M. L. Eros'; *C. I. L.* ix, 3938, 'Halicius Marcio Fausto Liberto'; *C. I. L.* x, 5211, 'L. Clodius L. L. Antioc. Tuscus'; *C. I. L.* xi, 3850, 'L. Arruntius L. L. Hilario Coc.'; *C. I. L.* xii, 4468, 'M. Egnatius Lugius cocus'; *C. I. L.* vi, 33838, 'C. Iulius Polybi L. Eros cocus'; *C. I. L.* vi, 8750, 'Diis Manibus T. Aelius Aug. Lib. Primitivus archimagirus'; *C. I. L.* vi, 8751, (D. M. A)ug. Lib. Symph(orus arc)himagir(us)'; *C. I. L.* vi, 8752, 'D. M. M. Aurelius Aug. Lib. Bit(hus) praepositus cocorum'; and *C. I. L.* vi, 7458.

The cook was originally a slave in Rome, but as his calling assumed greater importance sometimes gained his freedom so that in Imperial times many 'liberti' are numbered among men of this calling.

CHAPTER X

THE CHIEF COOK AND HIS ASSISTANTS

In Rome in the olden days, even after cooking became an art, there is little doubt that modest households were satisfied with one cook, who probably cared for the baking also. On special occasions, when the cook was hired from the market-place, he brought with him not only his utensils, but also one or more assistants or pupils. There are frequent allusions in Greek Comedy to the subordinates and 'discipuli' of the *μάγειροι*, Athenaeus, IX, 376, e, quotes Posidippus, who in his *Χορευοῦσαι* represents a cook as making a speech to his pupils: 'My pupil Leucon and the rest of you, fellow servants . . . so when a cook with helpers and attendants comes to some stranger and brings his pupils.' Dionysius also, in his *Ὁμώνυμοι*, Athenaeus, IX, 381, d, gives the speech of another *μάγειρος* to his pupils. He begins, 'Come now, O Dromon. . . . I'm leading you into an enemy's country.' Note too, Athenaeus, IX, 403, e, where a cook says,

> *Σόφων Ἀκαρνὰν καὶ Ῥόδιος Δαμόξενος*
> *ἐγένονθ' ἑαυτῶν συμμαθηταὶ τῆς τέχνης,*
> *ἐδίδασκε δ' αὐτοὺς Σικελιώτης Λάβδακος.*

Cf. also the fragments quoted from Damoxenus, M. IV, 530; K. III, 349; and Antiphanes, M. III, 125; K. II, 105, by Rankin, work previously cited, Chapter VIII, pp. 67 f. For all special occasions Greek *μάγειροι* had their subordinates, and several passages in Plautus show that Roman cooks held to the same custom. In the *Casina*, 720 ff., Olympio the 'vilicus' says to the cook, 'See to it, you rogue, that you lead these briars,' meaning the cook's thievish assistants, 'under their standards.' *Pseudolus*, 855 ff., Ballio gives his boy directions for watching

the cook, then says, 865, 'Item his discipulis privos custodes dabo.' He says to the cook also, 885-888,

> Quaeso hercle, prius quam quoiquam convivae dabis,
> Gustato tute prius et discipulis dato,
> Ut praerodatis vostras furtificas manus.

In the *Aulularia,* 398 ff., a cook gives orders to two slaves, probably assistants or pupils,

> Dromo, desquama piscis: tu, Machaerio
> Congrum, murenam exdorsua quantum potest.

Congrio, *Aulularia,* 409, says, 'Ita me miserum et meos discipulos fustibus male contuderunt.' In the same play, 553, the miser Euclio says, 'Qui mi intromis[is]ti in aedis quingentos coquos.' Even if we allow something for his exaggeration, he would hardly say five hundred cooks, if only the one whom we have mentioned by name was in his house. The command in the *Mercator,* 741, is addressed by a cook to his assistants most probably, as is also that in 779 f.:

> Agite apponite
> Opsonium istuc ante pedes illi seni.

Although when professional cooks were first numbered among the household slaves one in a family was sufficient, in later times, in the establishments of the great, the number of cooks increased. In a 'columbarium' on the 'Via Appia,' near the tomb of the Scipios, there is a gravestone of a principal 'dispensator' of Gallia Lugdunensis, a slave of Tiberius, *C. I. L.* VI, 5197. It was erected to him by sixteen of his slaves, 'vicarii,' who accompanied him on his return to Rome, where he died. Such a retinue gives a perspective of the size of his whole household, and also of the number of cooks he must have had, for in it there were one physician and two cooks. Seneca refers to the number of cooks in Imperial times, *Epistulae ad Lucilium,* 114, 26, 'Aspice culinas nostras et concursan-

tis inter tot ignes cocos: unum videri putas ventrem, cui tanto tumultu comparatur cibus'; *Epistulae ad Lucilium,* 95, 23, 'Quam celebres culinae sunt'; *Epistulae ad Lucilium,* 122, 16, 'Circa lucem discurritur, pueri vocantur, celarii, coqui tumultuantur.' In the imperial house so great was the number of cooks that they formed a 'collegium' among themselves, of which we shall speak later. To this multiplicity of cooks is due also a kind of hierarchy of the culinary art, at the head of which, according to Greek custom, was placed an 'archimagirus' or 'princeps coquorum,' under whose supervision and direction the other cooks worked. *C. I. L.* VI, 7458, reads, 'T. Aelius Aug. Lib. Primitivus archimagirus et Aelia Aug. Lib. Tyche coniunx fecerunt sibi et suis Lib. libertabusq. posterisque eorum.' *C. I. L.* VI, 8750, is so much like this that Mommsen thinks it may have been on the other side of the same monument, and may refer to the same person. It reads, 'Diis Manibus T. Aelius Aug. Lib. Primitivus archimagirus fecit Aelia Tyche et sibi, et Aeliae Tyrannidi coniugi, et libertis libertabusq meis vel. Aeliae Tyrannydis posterisque eorum etc.' Another 'archimagirus' is found in *C. I. L.* VI, 8751, '(Diis manibus A)ug. Lib. Symph(orus arc)himagir(us) (fecit sibi, et) Aeliae Agr(ipp)inae, (e)t Iuliae Cleopatrae, (m)aritae bene merentibus et (Ae)liae Agrippnae Nepoti suae libert(is) libertabusque posterisque eorum.' In literature, also, the 'archimagirus' is mentioned. Juvenal, IX, 109, says that he will go to the inn early in the morning, and with the 'libarius' and 'carptores' regale the inn-keeper with lies about his master, to revenge himself for the strappings he had received. Such treatment would indicate that he was a slave in this case, whereas in each of the inscriptions quoted above his position was that of a freedman. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae,* 2, 9, 6, says, 'Ecce et ab archimagiro adventans qui tempus instare curandi corpora moneret.' Hieronymus, *Quaestiones Hebr.,* in Gen. 37, 36, calls the 'archimagirus' the prince of cooks, as does Augustinus also, *Quaest. Hept.* 1, 127; 1, 136. Instead of 'archimagirus' this 'princeps cocorum' is given in

one inscription the title 'praepositus cocorum,' *C. I. L.* VI, 8752, 'D. M. M. Aurelius Aug. Lib. Bit(hus), praepositus cocorum.' Compare with this 'praepositus cubiculo,' Suetonius, *Domitian,* 16. In still another inscription he is designated 'supra cocos,' *C. I. L.* VI, 9261, 'Hic ossa sita sunt Fausti Eronis vicari supra cocos.' In *C. I. L.* VI, 3954, there is a 'supra cubicularius,' and another *C. I. L.* VI, 4439. In the *Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma,* VIII, p. 64, we get a 'supra paedagog(us)' in an inscription. In the same journal, XV, 263, 'supra cursores' are found.

The great number of cooks in the kitchens of the emperors and of the wealthy brought about a division and specialization of labor. Therefore there was under the direction of the 'archimagirus' a great host of assistants, each with his special task to perform. In this number were found the 'focarii, fornacarii, obsonatores, fartores, culinarii,' and perhaps the 'pistores' of various kinds. The 'focarii' were the scullions who performed the common drudgery of the kitchen, *Digesta,* IV, 9, 1, 5; XXXIII, 7, 12, 5; Paulus, *Sent.* III, 6, 37; *Vulgate,* I, *Reges,* 8, 13. They probably had something to do with taking care of the fire, for *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum,* II, 557, explains 'focarius' by ξυλοκόπος.

Besides the 'focarii' there were also the 'fornacarii,' whose duty it was to tend the furnace, cf. *Digesta,* IV, 9, 1, 5; IX, 2, 27, 9; XXXIII, 7, 12, 5. This name is applied also to the slaves who attended to the furnace at the baths.

The 'obsonatores' did the marketing for the 'archimagirus.' Plautus in the *Captivi,* 474, says that this was once the duty of the parasite. Gnatho does the marketing in Terence's *Eunuchus,* cf. line 258. Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus,* 667, reads, 'Vel primarium parasitum atque opsonatorem optumum.' In the *Menaechmi,* 220, the cook Cylindrus is ordered to do the marketing, but in wealthy families there were no doubt special slaves who performed this task under the supervision of the chief cook. A passage from Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium,* 47, 8, indicates how skilled the 'obsonatores' were, 'Adice ob-

sonatores, quibus dominici palati notitia subtilis est, qui sciunt, cuius illum rei sapor excitet, cuius delectet adspectus, cuius novitate nausiabundus erigi possit, quid iam ipsa satietate fastidiat, quid illo die esuriat. Cum his cenare non sustinet et maiestatis suae diminutionem putat ad eandem mensam cum servo suo accedere.' Martial, XIV, 217, refers to the 'obsonator,' and the instructions which it was necessary for him to receive, "Tell me how many there are of you, and at what price you wish to dine. Not a word more, dinner is ready for you." *C. I. L.* VI, 8946, contains the name of an 'obsonator' belonging to the imperial household, 'Dis Manibus Taurionis opsonatoris Poppaeae Aug.' Another mentioned, *C. I. L.* VI, 8945, is a 'libertus, Aphareus Iuliae Aug. L. Opson. dat Liviae Hilarae.' In *C. I. L.* VI, 5353, found in a 'columbarium,' we read, 'Lectus opsonator L. Caes(aris).' Spartianus, *Hadrian,* 17, refers to other imperial 'obsonatores, Ad deprehendendas obsonatorum fraudes, cum plurimis simmatibus pasceret.'

Among the cook's assistants perhaps should be placed also as Blümner thinks, *Römische Privat-Altertümer* in Müller's *Handbuch,* IV, 2, II, p. 193, as 'Küchengehilfen and Unter-Köche' the 'coctores' mentioned in Petronius, 95, 8, and the 'culinarii' in Scribonius Largus, 230. The latter are probably found in inscriptions also. Cf. *C. I. L.* XII, 4470, 'Q. Catio Q. Lib. Hermae culina'; although Mommsen says 'Num de culinario cogitari possit, dubito.' Compare also *C. I. L.* IV, 373. Pictured representations of kitchen aids are found in Etruscan paintings in Golini e Contestabile, *Pitture Scoperto Presso Orvieto,* plates 5 and 6. In the first a slave is engaged in pounding or kneading food; in the second two slaves with their kitchen utensils are busied around a furnace, in which we see the fire.

Probably the 'fartores' also were more or less closely associated with the 'archimagirus.' They were found in the 'macellum' with the 'lanii, coqui, and piscatores,' Terence, *Eunuchus,* 255; Cicero, *De Officiis,* I, 42, 150. They are mentioned also Plautus, *Truculentus,* 107, and Horace, *Satires,* II,

3, 229. In the imperial house they constituted a part of the host whose duty was to supply the emperor's table, and so would come under the sway of the 'archimagirus.' *C. I. L.* VI, 8848 and 8849 give us two 'fartores ex familia Augusta.' 8848 reads, 'Antigonus Drusi Caesaris avium fartor prim. fecit coniugi,' and 8849, 'Cinnamus Ti. Caesaris fartor avium.' Note also *C. I. L.* VI, 6286, 'Ophilio fartor'; and an inscription of Caesarea in Mauretania, *C. I. L.* VIII, 9432, 'Ossuarum Vitli fartoris.' The 'fartor' seems to have had two distinct functions—first that of sausage maker, and second that of raiser and fattener of fowls. Donatus on Terence, *Eunuchus,* 257, says 'Fartores qui insicia et farcimina faciunt.' This was probably also their function in Plautus, *Truculentus,* 107. That they fattened fowls is shown by two of the inscriptions just noted, *C. I. L.* VI, 8848 and 8849. Columella, *De Re Rustica,* VIII, 7, says too, 'Pinguem quoque facere gallinam quamvis fartoris non rustici fit officium.' According to Pliny, *N. H.* X, 139, the Fannian Law must have interfered somewhat with this side of the 'fartores'' business, for he tells us, 'Gallinas saginare Deliaci coepere, unde pestis exorta opimas avis et suopte corpore unctas devorandi. Hoc primum antiquis cenarum interdictis exceptum invenio iam lege C. Fanni Cos. XI annis ante tertium Punicum bellum ne quid volucre poneretur praeter unam gallinam, quae non esset altilis, quod deinde caput translatum per omnis leges ambulavit.'

The relation of the cook to the baker is an interesting question. Originally the two were the same, as is shown by a fragment from Naevius, cf. *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta,* Naevius, Fragmenta Incerta, XIV:

> Cocus edit Neptunum, Cererem,
> Et Venerem expertam Volcanom
> Liberumque obsorbuit
> Pariter.

Paulus ex Festo, De Ponor, p. 41, says that from this passage it is that we learn 'cocum et pistorem apud antiquos eundem

fuisse.' He says further that 'Naevius significat per Cererem panem, per Neptunum pisces, per Venerem holera.' Cf. *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum,* v, 521, 565, where the passage is explained as follows: 'Ceres frumentum vel panem, Liber vitem vel vinum, Venus libidinem vel holera, Neptunus aquam vel pisces, Vulcanus ignem vel solem significant . . . obsorbuit, id est cocus comedit pisces, et panem, et olera cocta ad ignem, et vinum pariter bibit.' Pliny also says that in ancient Rome the cook was also the baker of bread. *N. H.* XVIII, 108, 'Pistores Romae non fuere ad Persicum usque bellum annis ab urbe condita super DLXXX. Ipsi panem faciebant Quirites, mulierumque, id opus erat, sicut etiam nunc in plurimis gentium. . . . Certumque fit Atei Capitonis sententia cocos tum panem lautioribus coquere solitos, pistoresque tantum eos qui far pisebant nominatos. Nec cocos vero habebant in servitiis, eosque ex Macello conducebant.' The professional cook then was introduced into Rome earlier than the professional baker, and either he or the women of the family attended to the baking in early times. In the *Aulularia,* 400, Anthrax, a cook, goes next door to borrow an 'artopta' from Congrio, another cook. 'Pistor' in Plautine language means a miller, not a baker. Cf. also a passage from Varro, *De Vita Populi Romani,* Lib. I, quoted by Nonius, p. 223, 'Nec pistoris nomen erat nisi eius qui ruri far pinsebat. Nominati ita eo quod pinsunt'; Professional bakers were introduced into Rome about 173 B. C., but in the country even later baking was the business of women and slaves, *Digesta,* XXXIII, 7, 12, 5. After this time bakers are often mentioned in close connection with cooks. Compare Columella, *De Re Rustica,* XII, 4, 2, and many other passages. In the *Anthologia Latina* I, pt. 1, 199, Vespae, there is a *Iudicium Coci et Pistoris,* of which Vulcan is the judge. The cook and the baker contend as to which is more powerful. The latter says that bread is the staff of life, and without this there is nothing. Finally Vulcan dismisses them and bids them agree in future.

There were public bakers, but in some establishments the bread making was done in the home, as ovens and mills which

have been found in certain Pompeian houses testify. Where this was the case, as it probably was in the imperial house and in the wealthier private homes, bakers of bread may have been under the supervision of the 'archimagirus,' as were also their aids the pastry and sweetmeat makers; the 'placentarii, dulciarii, panchrestarii, scriblitarii, crustularii, botularii, lactarii and libarii.'

The 'dulciarius,' or 'dulciarius pistor,' made various kinds of sweetmeats and cakes, of flour and honey. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses,* x, 13, 701, describes a 'pistor dulciarius qui panes et mellita concinnabat edulia.' At night he brought home as specimens of his art 'panes, crustula, lucunculos, hamos, lacertulos, et plura scitamenta mellita.' Compare Isidorus, *Origines,* xx, 2, 18, 'Dulcia sunt genera pistorii operis a sopore dicta. Melle enim adsperso sumuntur. Crusta est superficies panis.' Martial, xiv, 222, says of the 'pistor dulciarius,' 'That hand will construct for you a thousand sweet figures of art; for it the frugal bee principally labors.' Lampridius, *Heliogabalus,* 27, speaks of skilled sweetmeat makers in that emperor's household, 'Dulciarios et lactarios tales habuit ut quaecumque coqui de diversis edulibus exhibuissent, vel structores, vel pomarii, illi modo de dulciis modo de lactariis exhiberent.' Note also *Corpus Gloss. Lat.* ii, 263, 31; 408, 34, and Trebellius Pollio, *Claudius,* 14, 11. The 'dulciarius' is found in inscriptions also. *C. I. L.* vi, 9374, reads, 'Locus Leopardi dulciari, etc.,' and *C. I. L.* vi, 33854, 'Locus Ciceronis dulciari,' cf. also *Anthologia Latina,* Vespae, *Iudicium, Coci et Pistoris,* i, 1, 199, l. 50; Vegetius, *De Re Militari,* i, 7; Vopiscus, *Tacitus,* 6.

The 'placentarius,' from 'placenta,' was a pastry cook who made a kind of cheese cake, Martial, v, 39, 3, 'Misi Hyblaeis madidas thymis placentas,' which were often sent as presents during the Saturnalia. 'Inter urbana ministerea continentur . . . placentarii, says Paulus, *Sententia,* iii, 6, 72. Cf. also *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum,* ii, 408.

Another pastry cook was the 'scriblitarius,' a tart baker. 'Scriblita,' from *στρεβλεῖν,* was a twist or tart of pastry made

of cheese, flour, and honey, and seems to have been served hot, Martial, III, XVII, 1. Plautus, *Poenulus,* 43, says, 'Nunc dum scribilitae aestuant, occurrite.' Petronius, however, *Sat.* 66, speaks of 'scribilita frigida.' Cf. also Petronius, *Sat.* 35. Afranius, quoted in Nonius, 191, says, 'Pistori nubat;—cur non scribilitario?' Ut mittat fratris filio lucunculos.' See also *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta,* Ribbeck, II, p. 218.

The 'panchrestarius' was a confectioner, and is mentioned in Arnobius. *Adversus Gentes,* II, 38.

Other assistants were the 'lactarii, Lampridius, *Heliogabalus,* 27, 3. An inscription of a 'libarius' too was found at Pompei, *C. I. L.* IV, 1768, 'Verecunnus libarius hic cc.'

CHAPTER XI

'COLLEGIA' OF COOKS

We now come to a fact in regard to cooks of which we should be entirely ignorant were it not for the evidence which we find in inscriptions. The authors do not deem it of sufficient importance to mention that cooks formed 'collegia' both in Republican and Imperial times.

Industrial guilds of various kinds existed at Rome under the Republic, and although the senate had the right to abolish them if it thought best to do so, it did not exercise this right as long as they observed the laws and were not troublesome. Consequently we find artisans and tradesmen of various kinds represented in the collegia of that city. There were corporations of makers of rings, of fullers, of gold workers, of potters, of carpenters, of butchers, of poets, of actors, of flute-players, and of various other occupations. We have no evidence of a 'collegium cocorum' in the city of Rome during Republican days, yet there is little doubt that such an organization actually did exist there; for we find one at Praeneste, and another in Sardinia, and the smaller towns of course took Rome as their model. We have previously given the contents and discussed the date of the earliest known inscription of a 'collegium cocorum,' *C. I. L.* XI, 3078, which says that the 'magistri' of a guild of Faliscan cooks in Sardinia gave a gift to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. It reads, 'Jovei, Iunonei, Minervai, Falesce quei in Sardinia sunt, donum dederunt; magistreis L. Latrius, K. F. C. Salv[e]na, Voltai F. coiraveront.' On the other side are found the words, 'conlegium quod est aciptum aetatei age(n)d[ai], opiparum a[d] veitam quolundam festosque dies, quei soueis a[rg]utieis opidque Volgani condecorant sai[pi]sume comvivia loidosque ququei huc dederu[nt]

[i]nperatoribus summeis, utei sesed lubent[es] [be]ne iovent optantis.

C. I. L. xiv, 2875 = i, 1540, has reference to another Republican collegium of cooks: 'Coques atriensis (f. p. d. d.) Magistres Rodo Or(ceui s.), Artemo, Dind. Q. S., Apoli(naris s) Protus Ae(mili s).' This was probably a dedication to Fortuna Primigenia, who was worshipped at Praeneste, and whose name is often found in inscriptions of that town: *C. I. L.* xiv, 2874, 2876, 2878, 2880, 2881, 2884, 2886, 2885, 2888, and others. It is not clear why these cooks were called 'atriensis,' but Mommsen's conjecture seems to be the best, that the 'coqui Praenestini' had their station in the atrium of some temple, probably that of 'Fortuna Primigenia' herself. J. P. Waltzing in his *Étude Historique sur les Corporations Professionnelles chez les Romains,* i, 346, says that this was probably a domestic 'collegium.'

'Collegia Domestica' were very numerous from the time of Augustus on. The imperial household and rich families possessed legions of slaves and freedmen. These slaves and freedmen of the same house often formed 'collegia,' whose members worshipped the 'Lares' of their master, to whose liberality they owed a place of shelter during life. The object of the association was to procure a fitting burial for the members. The slaves of a wealthy family or of an emperor were often divided according to their trades into families, and each family which was sufficiently numerous perhaps formed a 'collegium.' Of this kind are the 'collegia' found *C. I. L.* vi, 8750, and 7458, in which the cooks of the Emperor Hadrian founded a 'collegium cocorum.' 'T. Aelius Aug. Lib. Primitivus archimagirus et Aelia Aug. Lib. Tyche Coniunx fecerunt sibi et suis Lib. libertabusq(ue) posterisque eorum. Custodia monimenti inhabitandi ne quis interdicere vellit quod si nemo de hac memoria nostra extiterit, pertinere debebit ad collegium cocorum Aug. $\overline{\text{N}}$, quod consistit in Palatio, quod neque donari neque veniri permittimus, quod si quis contra sic legem s. s. fecerit, dare debebit corpori qui sunt in hac stationem HS.

L̄. M. N.' *C. I. L.* vi, 8750, reads, 'Diis Manibus T Aelius Aug. Lib. Primitivus archimagirus fecit Aelia Tyche et sibi et Aeliae Tyrannidi coniugi et libertis libertabusq. meis vel Aeliae Tyrannidis posterisque eorum Custodia moni(m)enti inhabitandi ne quis interdicere velit, quotsi nemo de N̄ memoria exstiterit, pertinebit ad collegium cocoru(m) Caesaris N̄. quot veniri donarive vetamus si adversus ea quis fecerit poenae nomine feret arcae cocorum HS. L̄. M̄. N̄. Ate ex usuris eorum celebretur suo. quoq. anno.'

These two inscriptions are so much alike that Mommsen thinks that they were originally placed on different sides of the same monument, and that lines 3 and 4 of *C. I. L.* 7458 were originally 4 and 5 of 8750; but that after the death of Aelia Tyche, Titus Aelius married Aelia Tyrannis. Then lines 4 and 5, cf. 8750, in *C. I. L.* were erased and the inscription changed so as to include her, by putting in lines 4-7.

Each 'collegium' had its 'arca' which is mentioned in the two inscriptions just quoted. For the funds of 'collegia' compare also *C. I. L.* vi, 10237; xiv, 3659; vi, 9354; vi, 9044; vi, 10348; vi, 14413; vi, 1682; vi, 9626; ii, 2102; xiv, 2299. Revenues came into the 'arca' from various sources, of which one is mentioned in *C. I. L.* vi, 8750, and 7458. 'Titus Aelius Primitivus archimagirus' constructed a family sepulcher, which he wished to remain the property of his descendants. If, however, his family became extinct, the tomb was to pass to an imperial 'collegium' of cooks. Whoever should transgress the 'lex monumenti' must pay 50,000 sesterces to this same college. We find another example of a fine which was to be paid to a corporation in *C. I. L.* vi, 9485. By means of these penalties the owners hoped to frighten those who would wish to profane the tomb. Such fines, says Waltzing, in the work previously cited, i, 468, were rarely paid, and contributed little to the budget of the 'collegium.'

In *C. I. L.* vi, 9262, one of the officials of the 'collegia' is given, 'D. M. S. Valeriae Epicone coniugi B. M. F. Ael. Ephproditus scriba cocorum.' This Aelius Ephproditus or Epa-

phroditus was doubtless a member of the same family as the T. Aelius Primitivus in *C. I. L.* VI, 7458 and 8750, and held the office of 'scriba' in the 'collegium cocorum.' In some of the 'collegia' the president fulfilled the duties of secretary, and took the name of 'scriba' et 'magister.' See *C. I. L.* XIV, 2299; XIV, 418, and 419. However, most of the corporations had one or more special secretaries 'scriba, tabularius,' or 'notarius.' See *C. I. L.* VI, 1060, and compare also *C. I. L.* VI, 868. The 'scriba' was not appointed annually, but was named for life, for according to Mommsen, *De Colle.*, p. 106, n. 1, we never find 'scriba iterum.' Although inferior to other officers in the 'collegia,' he figures beside them in inscriptions, *C. I. L.* VI, 868; and 1060. In some of the organizations he was free from the monthly tribute which was usually exacted.

The 'collegia domestica' which were formed by the slaves and freedmen of an emperor, or wealthy personage, naturally had their location in the house of the master. In *C. I. L.* VI, 7458, we read, 'collegium cocorum Aug(usti) n(ostri) quod consistit in Palatio,' and a little further on, 'corpori qui sunt in hac stationem.' Compare also *C. I. L.* VI, 8750, and *C. I. L.* XII, 4449 '(collegium sa)lutare (f)amilia(e) tabellarior(um) Caesaris n(ostri), quae sunt Narbone in domu'; *C. I. L.* VI, 9148, 'collegium quod est in domu Sergiae Paullinae,' and also *C. I. L.* VI, 9149, 10260, and 10264.

In the Italian and provincial cities the guilds of tradesmen played quite an important role, even in political matters which indicates that they may have done so at Rome also. Under Tiberius the senate suppressed the 'collegia' of artisans and tradesmen at Pompeii. They, however, remained united, says, Waltzing, in the work cited, I, 16, and took an active part in the election of 79; when Pompeii chose its 'duumviri iure dicundo,' and its aediles some months before the terrible eruption which swallowed it up. The struggle was a hot one, and these high offices were ardently contested. The walls of the houses of Pompeii, which were brought to light after eighteen hundred years, still bear about fourteen hundred electoral

posters, in which societies and individuals recommended their candidates. A great many of these belong to professional guilds, for example, the 'caupones, pistores, libarii and fullones.' The cooks also are represented in *C. I. L.* IV, 373 '(epid?) ium Sue(t)tium II vir D. R. P. O. F. culinari rogant.' Garrucci however and following him Orelli 7227 read this, 'L. Plotium et Suellium II vir dignum re publica oro vos faciatis culinari rogant.' Whatever the names may be, this inscription, which was scratched on an old Pompeian wall, shows that the cooks of that city were united, even if their corporation was not recognized. Although in the face of a formal prohibition of Tiberius they did not dare to take the name 'collegium,' they nevertheless played an active part in the election of 79, and asked votes for their candidates.

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